Names That HAVE RETURNED

Nikolai Bukharin, Alexei Rykov, Grigori Zinovyev, Lev Kamenev, Grigori Sokolnikov, Martemyan Ryutin

WRITING ON PERESTROIKA

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МОСКОВСКИЕ НОВОСТИ

Nikolai Bukharin
(1888-1938)

He used to occupy high Party and government posts and being, as it was said then, one of the leaders, he remained an accessible, lively, merry, very sincere person who got easily carried away.

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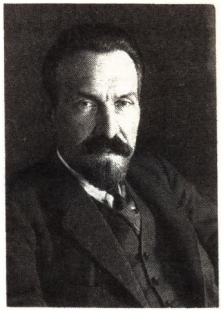
ИЗВЕСТИЯ



Alexei Rykov
(1881-1938)

As Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and then, after Lenin's death, its Chairman, Alexei Rykov was vested with special responsibility.

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НЕДЕЛЯ

Строительная газета
Центрального Комитета КПСС

Grigori Zinovyev (1883-1936)

The recognition of the fact that Zinovyev belonged to the Leninist Bolshevik cohort does not mean concealing his real political errors and miscalculations.

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Lev Kamenev (1883-1936)

In any situation would this man consistently defend his views. And if he changed some of his views, it was not because he took the cue from someone above, but because he himself assessed and reassessed the facts and events of social life.

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Вопросы истории

Литературная газета

Grigori Sokolnikov (1888-1939)

The name of the "Bolshevik financier" Grigori Sokolnikov was intimately connected with the hard Soviet chervonets, the "gold bank-note", the "phenomenon of organized economy..."

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Martemyan Ryutin (1890-1937)

Ryutin's name has returned to the people. The name of a man who proved by his staunchness that even in the most desperate times there always remain people loyal to their principles and ideas...

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On Additional Measures to Restore Justice with Respect to the Victims of Repressions That Took Place in the 1930s, 1940s and Early 1950s

In a resolution adopted on the above issue, the Central Committee of the CPSU points out that facts and rehabilitation experience accumulated directly after the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Party Congresses as well as more recently prove beyond any doubt that in the 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s the practice of repressions and arbitrariness was used on a mass scale. Extrajudicial organs—"troikas" (panels made up of three people) and "special sessions", both of which were specifically established for the purpose, and lists of potential victims, which became a widely used method of repressions against large groups of people—were the embodiment of lawlessness.

Such practices resulted in tragic consequences for hundreds of thousands of Soviet people, exercised a negative influence on the country's social and economic development, and contributed to promoting disrespect for law and human life in society. The progress of Soviet society was slowed down, socialist ideals were undermined and a serious blow was dealt to the prestige of the Party.

Restoring historical and judicial justice is a matter of tremendous political importance today. Success in forming a law-governed socialist state and developing social consciousness largely depends on this. The Soviet public, and surviving relatives and friends of the citizens who were repressed look forward to the full rehabilitation of the innocent victims.

The CPSU Central Committee has decided to request the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to consider the possibility of adopting a legislative act to rescind the extrajudicial sentences that were passed by the "troikas" and "special sessions" in the 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s and restore the good names of all citizens who became their victims.

The rehabilitation measure will not be applicable to the traitors and Nazi collaborationists of the years of the Great Patriotic War, Nazi criminals, members of armed nationalist groups and their accomplices, persons responsible for falsifying criminal cases and persons guilty of premeditated murder and other criminally punish-

able offences. The cases of all these groups can be appealed and re-examined in keeping with the established legal practice.

The Central Committee believes that in accordance with the law, it is necessary to accelerate the re-examination of the cases of those who were sentenced in the years of massive repressions.

In accordance with the established order, compensation should be given for material damage, and the relatives of the victims should be located and informed of this.

The Central Committee supported the proposals of Soviet citizens that special commissions should be set up in the territorial, regional and city Soviets of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics. The purpose of the commissions, which are to be made up of people's deputies and representatives of the general public, will be to help the Soviets in ensuring the rights and interests of the rehabilitated persons, erecting monuments to the victims of repressions and taking care of the places where they were buried.

Pravda, January 6, 1989

The current democratization process in the Soviet Union and widespread glasnost have given access to several closed pages in the history of our country and returned undeservedly forgotten names to the people. Many of these names were obliterated by the mass reprisals of the 1930s, 1940s and the early 1950s, by violations of legality under Stalin. Hundreds of thousands suffered in those years: some for having political views which differed from those of Stalin, others for their articulate opposition to the personality cult and their criticism of the deformations of socialism, and still others for their business, family or friendly ties with the victimized "enemies of the people". As it has now come to light, the preliminary investigations of most of the cases were falsified and conducted with flagrant violations of the law, the confessions of guilt were extorted by unlawful methods, and the non-existent "anti-Party blocs" and "anti-Soviet plots" were simply invented...

The Communist Party and the Soviet state have taken a principled stand on the issue. The names of many innocent victims have been totally cleared. The restoration of truth continues. A commission set up by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee is making an additional inquiry into the materials related to reprisals perpetrated in the 1930s, 1940s and in the early 1950s. The USSR Procurator's Office and the USSR Supreme Court are thoroughly investigating the cases. As a result of this tremendous and meticulous work, names are being retrieved from oblivion, the historical truth is being restored, and the honour and dignity of unjustly convicted people reasserted.

This booklet tells about six outstanding revolutionaries, six prominent leaders of the Communist Party and Soviet state, who were fully rehabilitated in 1988.

Moscow News is a weekly newspaper of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Novosti Press Agency. It has been published since 1930 in five languages. It is sold in 140 countries and its circulation is 970,000 copies.

Lev VOSKRESENSKY,
journalist

You should know, comrades...

I've always wondered what urged Pasternak to write in his series—*Volny* (Waves)—published in 1931, the lines: *"You're next to us, the far-off realm of socialism... You, the country outside of hearsay and slander, are finding your way through the smoke of theories..."* I was simply stunned when I learned whom these most wonderful lines were dedicated to. Pasternak—a non-Party member, a man generally believed to be "funny in the head", who didn't write about Stalin in his poetry, in spite of obvious "desires voiced at the top"—dedicated his *Volny* to another outstanding Party worker and statesman, a politician to the tip of his fingers, so to speak, a Bolshevik since 1906, member of the Central Committee after February 1917, editor of the main Party paper and at different times—member of the Politburo, of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, and of the Presidium of the Communist International. When dark clouds began to gather over the head of this man, Boris Pasternak deemed it his duty to send him a telegram (a letter according to other sources), expressing sympathy, support and confidence in the man's honesty. It was rather hard to mail such a message openly in the 1930s. This gesture, of course, speaks volumes about Pasternak himself and about Nikolai Bukharin, his addressee.

After all, a poet is a poet, a person overcome with emotions. But

let's think about the price of every minute for Lenin in the short December days of 1922, when he was lying in bed mortally ill, about the price of each word in his political will—which had been dictated with great difficulty and thoroughly appraised—about his nearest comrades-in-arms and inheritors of his cause. It would seem he had to write only about business and political qualities, without any "emotions", because there wasn't time for them. Suddenly we come across the humanly warm, cordial words: "Bukharin is not only one of the most valuable and major theoreticians of the Party, but is also correctly considered the entire Party's favourite." The will did contain criticisms, too (we'll speak of them later on). But still: "The Party's favourite".

Nikolai Bukharin's important role in the ideological routing of Trotskyism, as well as the errors made in the late 1920s (which he himself and his followers soon recognized) were mentioned in Mikhail Gorbachev's report dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. This was the first mention of Bukharin in 50 years since the ill-famed "trial of the anti-Soviet right-wing Trotskyist bloc".

However, there is also the other side of the matter—the judgement of a person's personality. It cannot be either too early, or, on the other hand, too late, because both a personality and what people say about him or her—are outside time limits.

Once, not so long after the war, I got hold of a file of the *Ogonyok* magazine for the 20s. I can still see the photo of the time—Bukharin is writing—"I'll stop smoking!"—on a pack of cigarettes, promising this to the Young Pioneers crowded around him. Like it or not, this was how I got my first impression, however naive it could be, of the man's personality.

Quite a few years later I was introduced to Anna Larina, Bukharin's widow, and Yuri Larin, their son, who is an artist.

One feels strange at their home not far from the Profsoyuznaya Metro Station. When listening to Anna Larina's narration, time seems to get denser and one imagines the events of nearly half a century ago, as if they happened only yesterday: "... I came down—Stalin had come to see Nikolai and they were having tea... Outwardly, I'd say, their relations were friendly. Stalin invited him often to his dacha. Stalin also insisted that we move from the Metropol Hotel* into the Kremlin... Ordzhonikidze was our nextdoor neighbour."

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* *The Metropol* is a hotel in central Moscow in which government offices were housed and Soviet statesmen and Party leaders lived from March 1918 to the end of the 20s.

I looked at the photo on the wall—a steep, high forehead, bright and glistening eyes, an open, friendly and a slightly ironical look, and kind furrows above the lips. For some reason I'd imagined him to have been a big, tall and well-proportioned man, but in real life he was short, red-haired and as agile as quicksilver. He used to occupy high Party and government posts and being, as it was said then, one of the leaders, he remained an accessible, lively, merry, very sincere person who got easily carried away.

On the opposite wall are two oil landscapes—two works by Bukharin which miraculously survived to our time.

He exuded a current of some kind, or as we say now—he generated a biological field, and whoever got into that field, felt involuntarily its impact. Here is another colourful psychological episode.

Try to imagine the extremely hard spring of 1920. The Civil War was going on. The country's economy was paralyzed and famine was looming large. The White Army was pressing all the time. And it was exactly in those days (probably at nights) that Lenin was reading the then just published book *Economy of the Transition Period* (the general theory of the transformation process, Part I), and, after reading it, wrote a joking review of it, making a parody, on purpose, of the author's overheavy style.

Today one regards this as a surprise which doesn't fit in with the textbook image of Lenin. What do you mean—a parody? And, moreover, at the time when there was hardly any excuse for joking. Lenin's review has been published many times and one can read it, but not the book *Economy of the Transition Period* by Bukharin. And, really, it should be read. Let's say, for example, that nowadays we're used to talking about the building of socialism. But in the political vocabulary of the revolutionary time these words sounded crude. Words like introducing, establishing or victory of socialism were used more often. Bukharin was well-nigh the first person to realize this and wrote: "It will be necessary to build socialism. The existing material and personal resources are only a point of departure in development which engulfs an entire huge epoch." "Quite right!" Lenin wrote in the margins.

No, it was not by chance that in those most intense days of 1920, Lenin deemed it necessary to find time to read Bukharin's book with such great attention.

Let us go back to Lenin's critical comment on Bukharin in the already cited "Letter to the Congress": "... But his theoretical views can be called Marxist with very great doubts, because he has something scholastic (he never studied and never understood dialectics to the end)." And, true enough, he studied very little, if, of

course, we understand studies as a well-planned course of academic studies. In 1907 he joined the economic department of the Law Faculty of Moscow University. He was by that time a Bolshevik organizer, propagandist and agitator; 18 months later he was arrested, together with the other members of the Moscow Party Committee. During his four "university" years he was arrested three times, sent to jail in Moscow, exiled to Onega on the White Sea coast, escaped and illegally went abroad.

A thriller film could have well been made about his six years abroad. In Austria he was arrested and put in a military fort. Later he was arrested in Britain and in Sweden. He was exiled to Norway, and managed to get illegally to the USA where he made a lecture tour. As soon as he heard about the overthrow of the tsar, Bukharin hastened to get back home (through Japan, making a round-the-world trip) and became one of the leading participants in the October Revolution.

But that's only the outside contour of his life. He also worked intensely in libraries and spent long hours thinking. At the same time he carried on a theoretical, political and organizational struggle against the opportunists and worked in the Bolshevik press abroad. His research papers were published one after another.

Yes, they did contain "something scholastic". But let us look at an important postulate made by Lenin in the same "Letter to the Congress"—his criticism of Bukharin and Pyatakov was made "only for the present". And Lenin stressed that this would remain correct only if both these "outstanding and loyal workers did not find the opportunity to increase their knowledge and change their unilateralism".

How old was Bukharin in December 1922? On October 10 he was only 34. He was still to write books and articles, to fight the Trotskyites for a consistent fulfilment of the New Economic Policy*, and to be elected a full member of the Academy of Sciences. He was still to make his famous speech at the 1st Writers' Congress, write his antifascist articles and the words "socialist humanism" which later on became standard. And he was still to work energetically in the commission on the elaboration of the so-called Stalin Constitution.

On the eve of the February-March 1937 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, he realized that he wouldn't be free for very long.

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* *The New Economic Policy (NEP)* was implemented in the country in the 1920s for overcoming economic dislocation and strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasants on an economic basis. NEP allowed certain development of capitalist elements, but the key sectors of the national economy were in the hands of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Since he couldn't justify himself in his lifetime," Anna Larina recollects, "Nikolai wrote a letter two or three days before his arrest. We expected a search. Fearing that the letter would be discovered, he asked me to learn it by heart. When he was convinced that I remembered the letter by heart, he destroyed the written text. I've been repeating these words like a prayer, throughout the years in jail and in exile:

" 'I'm leaving life, I bow my head not before the proletarian sword, which should be merciless and also chaste. I feel my helplessness before the infernal machine which, using probably medieval methods, possesses a gigantic strength, fabricating organized slander, and acts boldly and confidently. Dzerzhinsky is no more. The wonderful traditions of the Cheka (Russian acronym for the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution.—Ed.)*—when the revolutionary idea governed all of its activities, justified its cruelty to enemies, and protected the state from all and every counter-revolution—have gradually become a thing of the past. It was because of these traditions that Cheka organs merited a special confidence, a special honour, prestige and respect. At present, in their majority these so-called NKVD* (Russian acronym for the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.—Ed.) *organs, this degenerated organization of degraded and well-provided officials who are devoid of any ideals and who, taking advantage of the past prestige of Cheka, pleasing Stalin with his morbid suspicion, to say the least, seeking medals and fame, are doing their infamous deeds, without understanding that they are at the same time destroying themselves for history does not tolerate witnesses of dirty affairs...' "*

How many times must Anna Larina have repeated these words. Recording them, I feared that the tape would break.

"Any member of the Central Committee, any Party member can be reduced to nil, made a traitor, terrorist, saboteur or a spy by these 'wonder-working organs'. If Stalin had doubted himself—the confirmation would have come at once.

"Storm clouds loom large over the Party. My single, absolutely innocent head will pull after it thousands of innocents. Because an organization—'Bukharin's organization'—must be created, even though it does not exist now, when I've not a shadow of a difference with the Party for the seventh year now, and which was non-existent then, at the time of the right opposition. I knew nothing about Ryutin's and Uglanov's secret organizations. Together with Rykov and Tomsky, I've expounded my views openly.

"I've been a Party member since I was 18, and the goal of my life was always the struggle for the interests of the working class, for the victory of socialism. These days the newspaper with the holy name

Pravda *is printing the most heinous lies—that purportedly I, Nikolai Bukharin, wanted to destroy the gains of the October Revolution and to restore capitalism. This is unprecedented brazenness, it is a lie. Such brazenness and irresponsibility to the people could only be matched by the next lie: 'As it has turned out, Nikolai Romanov spent his entire life in a struggle against capitalism and monarchy, for the fulfilment of a proletarian revolution.'*

"If in the methods of socialist construction I've been mistaken many times, let our descendants not judge me more strictly than Lenin did. We moved to one goal for the first time, by the untrodden path. The time and the mores were different. Pravda *used to carry a 'discussion column', everybody argued, quarreled, made up and went on further, together.*

"I address you, the future generation of Party leaders, whose historic mission is the obligation to unravel the terrible mess of crimes which are becoming, in these terrible days, ever greater, are gathering strength and are suffocating the Party. I address all Party members. In these, which are maybe the last days of my life, I'm sure that sooner or later the filter of history will inevitably wash the dirt off my head. I've never been a traitor. I'd give up my life without a second thought for Lenin. I was fond of Kirov and I haven't schemed in any way against Stalin."

The concluding lines, as if hewn in stone, were:

"You should know, comrades, that there is also my drop of blood on the banner which you will carry on your triumphant march to communism.

N. Bukharin."

He went off to the session of the Plenary Meeting and didn't come home. It happened on February 27. Anna Larina was arrested soon afterwards. Yuri, who at the time wasn't even 12 months old, ended up in a children's home.

The verdict was read out on March 13, 1938. It is one of the verdicts which should be appealed against.

ИЗВЕСТИЯ

Izvestia of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the USSR is a daily newspaper published by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Founded in March 1917. Daily circulation, 10.5 million.

Ruslan LYNEV,
journalist

Alexei Rykov: revolutionary, politician and man

Alexei Rykov joined the Communist Party in 1898, and served as a member of its Central Committee's Politburo from 1923 to 1930. He headed the Supreme Council of the National Economy, as well as the Labour and Defence Council, then succeeded Vladimir Lenin as head of the Soviet Government from 1924 to 1930.

"No one knows where or when I was born," Rykov would say jokingly to his family, referring to the fact that his date of birth (February 13, 1881) and the place (Saratov*) were put down arbitrarily: apparently his father had failed to get the documents ready in his home community, Kukarka sloboda (a rural settlement) of Vyatka** province, where he was registered as a peasant. Upon moving to Saratov, Rykov senior became a merchant. Soon after, however, he lost his wife and then died himself, leaving six orphans. The children managed to scrape a living and to pay their way through school "by copper coins", as the saying goes, which they earned by coaching slower pupils. Alexei was one of the best students at the gymnasium, where he developed a particular liking for exact and natural sciences—and a particular dislike for Divinity.

* *Saratov*, a large industrial city in the middle reaches of the Volga, now a regional administrative centre in the Russian Federation.

** *Vyatka*, a town in European Russia's north-east. Its present name is Kirov, a regional administrative centre in the Russian Federation.

Alexei started mixing in young revolutionary circles, and consequently the gymnasium authorities lowered his conduct mark, thus barring his way to the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow. He was therefore forced to go to the nearest university town, Kazan.* Rykov's first arrest came in 1901, and he was deported to Saratov where he was brutally beaten up by the police during a demonstration.

This event ushered in a new period in Alexei Rykov's life which he was to recall later:

"No sooner had I become a student than I was locked up. Twelve years have passed since then, and of these I spent five and a half in the lockup. Moreover, on three occasions I had to trek off to exile, which claimed another three years of my life. My brief spells of 'liberty' were a kaleidoscope of villages, towns, people and events flitting by. I used to be rushing about the whole time—by horsecab or steamboat. There was no flat where I lived for more than two months."

Indeed, Rykov was exiled four times to Archangel** province alone, but every time he managed to escape. He also escaped from Narym,*** where he was twice exiled, in the autumn of 1915.

It was in Geneva, in 1902, that Rykov first met Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin). Quick to spot Rykov's gifts as a good organizer and his ability to "woo" people, Lenin started giving him responsible assignments. For example, he was entrusted with the job of preparing a Party congress and illegally re-forming the Party organizations disbanded by the tsarist authorities. This particularly concerned the Moscow Party Organization which, as good luck would have it, he happened to lead at the height of the revolutionary events of 1905 and 1917. It was in Moscow that Rykov was elected delegate to the Third (London) Party Congress (1905).

Owing to his prestige in the Communist Party and rich experience, Rykov was offered one of the key positions in the first Soviet government—that of the People's Commissar (Minister) for Internal Affairs. In actual fact, he was to supervise the formation of the new bodies of government. From the very start, however, Rykov and some other members of the Central Committee and the government disagreed with Lenin and the majority on whether the government should remain the way it was or whether it should include more

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* *Kazan*, a city in the middle reaches of the Volga, now the capital of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

** *Archangel*, a city on the White Sea Coast in the north of Russia, now a regional administrative centre in the Russian Federation.

*** *Narym*, a northern region in West Siberia, where political prisoners were exiled under the tsars.

representatives from other socialist parties, as the leaders of a major trade union of railwaymen, Vikzhel, demanded. Lenin considered the demand absurd: since the Congress of Soviets had given a clear majority to the Bolsheviks (Communists), why on earth should they cede to the ambitions of the minority?

But Rykov as well as Nikolai Milyutin, Victor Nogin and Ivan Teodorovich, also People's Commissars, thought otherwise. Moreover, to stress their differences with Lenin and his position, they handed in their resignation.

The malicious glee this incident caused among the enemies of the Revolution ("Look, how stable the new government is!"), and the indignation of the Bolsheviks with Lenin at the head knew no bounds. One cannot understand the motives for that action today, either. Unless one takes into account the main consideration: Rykov never acted contrary to his convictions.

Much later, in 1930, Rykov was to resolve his differences with Stalin in the same manner—he stepped down as the head of government, and thus made himself vulnerable.

But things were different under Lenin. Later, Lenin recalled:

"On the eve of the October Revolution in Russia, and immediately after it, a number of very good Communists in Russia committed an error, one which our people are now loth to recall. Why are they loth to recall it? Because, unless there is particular reason for it, it is wrong to recall mistakes which have been completely set right."

Set right by actions. Soon after his resignation, Rykov was put in charge of the Moscow Regional Authority for food procurement. At the height of the Civil War and foreign military intervention (1918-20) Rykov served as the Plenipotentiary Extraordinary of the Labour and Defence Council for the logistic supplies of the Army and the Navy. He would retrieve anything from the depots that might be of any use to the Red Army. The main munitions factories were restored and commissioned under his guidance.

Such was the situation. And such were the actions. Small wonder that Alexei Rykov's resignation from the government became immaterial, and was simply forgotten about. Economic recovery was the priority now. Who was the man to put the economy back on its feet? Who was to head the Supreme Council of the National Economy? The Party recommended Rykov for the post.

Rykov, in fact, was the founder of that body, the man who set out the guidelines for its activity. From the nationalization of individual enterprises (initially turned over to elected boards), it moved on to the nationalization of entire industries run according to common output and maintenance plans. This project of bringing

together the motley elements of the national economy into a single system under rigid centralized control made for better utilization of the available resources in the conditions of war and destruction.

It was in Rykov's nature to combine the concrete analysis of a current situation with a look far into the future. For all the turmoil of the Civil War, with such urgent concerns as food and fuel, Rykov showed an interest in the plan to construct a canal between the Volga and the Don.

Once the Civil War was over, it was time for drastic changes in the style and methods of economic management. That is why NEP, the New Economic Policy, was introduced. Assessing the period, Rykov came to the conclusion that now victory should be won not through commanding and monopolization, but through better work, by adopting a system of "commercial management", as he put it. Commodity exchange between town and countryside, as well as trade in consumer and production goods were the order of the day.

That was a novel and complex stage of the economic recovery. According to Alexei Rykov, the nationalized industries were to be the backbone of this endeavour, especially the fuel and metallurgical industries, and transportation. It was these branches that called for the lion's share of investments.

But since farming was making more rapid progress than industry, at that level of the country's development, Rykov observed, "the economic significance of the peasantry may far exceed the economic significance of the working class".

Rykov concerned himself with virtually every aspect of the new economy, whether it be planned management or the market, both internal and external (even then enterprises were granted the right to enter external markets). His personal involvement was felt everywhere.

But even at that early stage of the system of economic management, Rykov worried over certain flaws in its mechanism which were to reduce its efficiency noticeably in the years to come. Addressing delegates at the 14th Communist Party Conference in 1925, he spoke of a spreading epidemic of inspections that gobbled up more and more funds, and took a lot of time and effort.

"A billion roubles for inspections, but only fifty million for construction," chimed in one of the delegates in the hall, Vlas Chubar, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine.

No less evil to Rykov was the excessive overstaffing of the central agencies; they were losing touch with the subordinate enterprises which were vibrant with new vitality. "*Changes at the bottom, but routine at the top: this is dangerous. The top will apply the brake to any movement down at the bottom.*" he cautioned.

As Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and then, after Lenin's death, its Chairman, Alexei Rykov was vested with special responsibility. True, his theoretical heritage contains no particularly large and brilliant works. But it is still valuable to us due to his experience of solving socio-economic problems, which proves that at the most crucial periods the Party policy was determined by the economy and economic achievements.

His pronouncements of that period, up until the late twenties, leave no shadow of a doubt that Rykov was a principled and active champion of the course of the country's emergency industrialization and of the all-round development of cooperation as a means of socialist construction. In practical terms, this meant the continuation of NEP launched under Lenin.

But then this policy was reversed due to a slump in the purchase of grain in 1927 and 1928, labelled as a "bread crisis" and even a "bread strike".

Stalin saw the causes of the crisis in the growing resistance by the kulaks (rich peasants), and maintained that a bold thrust was needed in order to overcome the difficulties. He opted for emergency measures against those who concealed grain and for stepped-up rates of collectivization. This policy was carried too far. Rykov and two other Politburo members, Nikolai Bukharin and Mikhail Tomsky, saw this as an ominous sign.

Protesting against the pressure campaign, Rykov, Bukharin and Tomsky handed in their resignation.

No, Alexei Rykov did not defend the "blood-suckers", the kulaks; he did not take up the cause of the rural capitalists, nor did he oppose collectivization, as it was claimed. Neither did he preach industrialization at a snail's pace. What he advocated was the laws and methods of economics as opposed to the volitional pressurizing and command and administrative techniques being introduced into the system. That was the crux of the matter. Without going into details, we must say that it was not only Stalin with whom Rykov developed differences—a large number of rank-and-file Party members were against him. Revolutionary ardour was more in tune with their mentality than NEP and its ways. To many, NEP was tantamount to "bourgeois degeneration". These sentiments fell in with Stalin's way of thinking: he understood dialectics not as the unity and struggle of opposites but solely as their struggle. So one of the "opposites" had to be removed, eliminated, especially if power was at stake. In this particular case, the "right-wing deviation" was the target—this was how Rykov, Bukharin and Tomsky were branded.

What is a "deviation"? This is how Lenin defines it:

"A deviation is not yet a full-blown trend. A deviation is

something that can be rectified. People have somewhat strayed or are beginning to stray from the path, but can still be put right."

According to Stalin, the "right-wing deviation" with its "comic wailings" about the "emergency measures" was the main, opportunist danger in the Party. He also insisted: "The truth in this particular case is that we do not follow a common line. There is one line, the Party line, the revolutionary Leninist line. But there is also another line, the line followed by the Bukharin group that is waging a struggle against the Party line... This other line is the opportunist one."

Accordingly, such a vicious campaign was launched against the "deviationists" that even their self-criticism, their readiness to prove by their actions that they supported the Party line, were dismissed as "manoeuvring" and "subterfuge".

"Bow your head before the Party"—this demand, directed to the Trotskyites shortly before, was now addressed to Rykov... This was no hollow sound to Rykov, who had devoted his whole life to the Party and who, by the will of the Party, had been elevated to the high post of the head of the Soviet government. Therefore at the 16th Party Congress in the summer of 1930 he recanted. The shorthand report may give an idea about the nature of his self-criticism and the atmosphere at the Congress.

Lyubchenko (one of Rykov's ardent supporters shortly before.—*Author*): Do you agree that the position of right-wing deviation is that of petty-bourgeois liberals?

Rykov: Well, this very combination of petty-bourgeois notions and liberalism where I am concerned... is not quite clear; maybe you can explain it to me later on, in a private talk.

Lyubchenko: You'd better read Stalin's speech **(laughter, commotion)**.

Rykov: I repeat, very likely there are many things I have not said... **(Voice:** "The main thing")... and have omitted, but I've tried to explain the main thing... **(Voice:** "But didn't exactly explain it")... around which all my differences with the Central Committee revolved **(Voice:** "You'd better tell us about Party discipline". **Commotion)**. You should listen to what I say. It seems to me... that our position is essentially that of defending the petty-bourgeois resistance... **(Voice:** "That's putting it mildly!").

But let us change the scene and the time. Let us return to the present and set out, on a damp day in early spring, for Preobrazhenka, a street in Moscow. Let us visit (after a prior phone call, of course) Natalia Rykova, the daughter of the Sovnarkom*

* *Sovnarkom*, the Council of People's Commissars, the Government.

Chairman. She lives in a small, light, one-room flat, which is simply, even modestly furnished. The first thing to catch your eye is a photograph tucked behind the glass door of a book-case. Lenin and Rykov. Looking at Rykov, you want to know more about the man.

Natalia Rykova reminisces:

"He was slender. Above average height. Dark hair. An open face. Radiant blue eyes. His beard and moustache were of a different shade though. This circumstance caused a misunderstanding when my mother, also a Party veteran, became acquainted with him. It was in Paris, in a flat Lenin occupied then. His wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya, was not in. Lenin was playing chess with Osip Pyatnitsky, a prominent Party member, who was also living in emigration in Paris. Suddenly, the doorbell rang. My mother went to open the door. She recounted that she opened the door—and saw a stranger with an 'unmatching' beard and moustache... Although he named the password correctly, she still had her doubts: what if he were a decoy? She whispered that to Lenin. Leaving his chessboard, Lenin went to have a look and burst out laughing—well, some decoy!

"Such was his outward appearance," Rykov's daughter went on. "As for his nature, he was of jovial disposition. He liked joking, like Bukharin, but was somewhat more restrained and introverted. He was fond of nature, but in a different way from Bukharin, who might go off hunting with his sketch-book. No, his love of nature was more down-to-earth, if you like. Even just outside the town, he would always have a look at the crops of oats or rye.

"His working habits, you ask? When we lived in the Kremlin, he would come home for lunch and then, lying down on the sofa, might say, 'There will be a Sovnarkom meeting in seven minutes, please wake me up in five.' He often came back late, about eleven in the evening. He would have tea and do some reading. But if he came earlier, the whole family would go to the theatre.

"His friends? I don't think I can single out anyone in particular. He used to have sincere, friendly relations with almost everybody. But I can well remember the time when his temper started changing for the worse. It was in 1930. And best of all I remember the last months and weeks he was with us. Because it concerned all of the family. In the summer of 1936, when I graduated from teachers' training college, my father, then the People's Commissar for Communications, took me along on a business trip to the Soviet Far East. I acted as his secretary and typist. In the autumn of the same year I started teaching Russian and Russian literature in a border guards school. Shortly after we had moved from the Kremlin to the 'House on the Embankment', (a residential house for government

officials and their families near the River Moskva—*Ed.*), the school authority told me that I should resign. I knew it was useless to resist.

"At home things were very bad. In December 1936, after attending sittings of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, my father would return home increasingly gloomy. He would pace the room for hours on end. My mother and I would tell him time and again: 'If you feel you are right, stand up for yourself.' I remember when we read Bukharin's letter to the Politburo. It showed up the absurdity of the accusations levelled at him and my father. As we read that letter, it seemed to grow lighter in the room, the letter was so convincing.

"'You'd better write as well,' my mother said. My father looked at her meaningfully—I still remember that look of his—and snickered, 'Think anyone will take any notice?'

"I well remember the day on the eve of the next Plenary Meeting of February-March, 1937, when Ordzhonikidze died. 'Our last hope,' my mother said. She had a stroke.

"My father attended the Plenum. Coming back in the evenings, he was all blue in the face. He did not eat or smoke during the last two days. And on that very last day he returned before dark and retired to his study. He did not answer my question, 'Will you have to go there again?' Then I decided to ring up the Kremlin myself. Poskrebyshev, Stalin's assistant, answered. I asked, 'Will you be needing my father tonight again?' 'I'll phone you back,' Poskrebyshev replied. And he did. He said, 'The car is on its way.' I helped my father on with coat and went out to see him off. We parted. He got into the car and drove off. I never saw him again."

Yet another phone call interrupted our talk. Natalia Rykova thanked someone again. For their memory. Memory has been living on in people for so many years. And what years! The point is that memory, especially if it is a good one, lives a longer life than man.

НЕДЕЛЯ

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Dmitri SHELESTOV, Doctor of Science (History)

Grigori Zinovyev: the life and struggle

Anyone who has read the minutes of the Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the RSDLP held in 1912 may have noticed that only two members of the Party's Central Committee elected by the conference were voted in unanimously: Lenin and Zinovyev. Five years later, these two names also headed the list of the Central Committee elected by the Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the RSDLP early in 1917, just as the Party emerged from the underground after the overthrow of the monarchy. When the 6th Party Congress met in session three months later, it decided not to promulgate the entire list of the Central Committee members for security reasons. Nevertheless, at the suggestion of Grigori Ordzhonikidze, the names of the four members who carried the majority of votes were announced. They were: Lenin (133 votes out of 134), Zinovyev (132), Kamenev and Trotsky (each received 131 votes).

Now, let us look into the minutes of subsequent Party Congresses, say, of the 12th (1923) Congress, which Lenin was unable to attend because of a grave illness. It was Zinovyev who delivered the main report, the Political Report of the Central Committee. At the following, 13th, RCP(B) Congress (1924), convened soon after Lenin's death, the Political Report was again read out by Zinovyev. He began by reciting the recently published verse

by the poet Alexander Bezymenski. *"Eyes swimming with sorrow /And thoughts benumbed by pain/ It is not Lenin... not Lenin... at the rostrum/ To read the Central Committee Report."*

Zinovyev (this was his pseudonym, his real name being Apfelbaum) was not of proletarian origin. He was born in 1883 in the Ukrainian town of Yelizavetgrad (now Kirovograd) into the family of a small entrepreneur—his father had a dairy farm. The family was only moderately well off, and so on turning fourteen, Grigori started earning money for the family—first, by tutoring and then taking a clerk's job. Thanks to his good home education the young man passed the entrance examinations to the famous University of Berne in 1904, but he soon abandoned his studies and devoted himself wholeheartedly to revolutionary activities. In 1901, the eighteen-year-old Zinovyev joined the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP).

Zinovyev's name is first mentioned in the multivolume edition *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: a Biographical Chronicle* in one of the entries for 1909. In reality, however, this mention ought to be referred six years earlier, to the beginning of 1903, when Zinovyev first crossed the threshold of a small house in the Geneva banlieue of Séchéron where Lenin, the founder and editor of the first Marxist newspaper *Iskra*, was living at the time.

Over the subsequent two or three years young Zinovyev worked underground in Russia, showing himself to be a capable revolutionary. When the RSDLP held its 5th Congress in London in 1907, the Bolsheviks elected the 24-year-old Zinovyev to the Central Committee.

Late in the summer of 1908, Zinovyev joined Lenin in Geneva and from that time on, for nearly ten years, worked under his direct guidance. Zinovyev returned to revolutionary Russia with Lenin in the spring of 1917.

In the summer of 1917, the counter-revolutionary forces mounted a campaign to round up Lenin and his comrades as "German agents". Incidentally, Menshevik* Andrei Vyshinsky was one of the persecutors who called for their arrest. On Stalin's order nineteen years later, Vyshinsky—then the Procurator of the USSR—demanded that the "ringleader of the gang of spies", Zinovyev, be shot. And a very significant fact was scratched from the history books for a long time: in the late summer of 1917, Lenin was not alone in the famous hut at Razliv near Petrograd (now Leningrad) where he was in hiding—Zinovyev was at his side.

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* *Menshevism (Mensheviks)* was the main opportunist trend in Russian Social Democracy, a variety of international opportunism; it was a vehicle of bourgeois influence on the working class.

Along with Lenin, Zinovyev had to stay underground until the beginning of the armed uprising in October 1917.

In December 1917, Zinovyev was elected Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. When the constituent congress of the Third (Communist) International met in Moscow less than eighteen months later, Zinovyev was elected President of its Executive Committee. At all the post-October Congresses of the Party, up until the 15th Congress in 1927, Zinovyev was elected a member of the Central Committee; he was an alternate member of the Politburo (1919-1921), and then became a full member (1921-1926).

Such were the milestones of Zinovyev's political biography up until 1926 when a drastic turn came about. How unexpected was it? This is no idle or simple question. It would be wrong to presume that the rehabilitation of eminent Party and state personalities could dot the i's of our past at one stroke. And this is true of the historical judgement of these activists, including Grigori Zinovyev.

The recognition of the fact that Zinovyev belonged to the Leninist Bolshevik cohort does not mean concealing his real political errors and miscalculations. But they should now be analyzed thoroughly and truly scientifically, without recourse to malicious labels and biassed generalizations.

For decades our history textbooks insisted with clockwork regularity that Grigori Zinovyev and Lev Kamenev in the crucial weeks before the October Revolution voiced their opposition to Lenin concerning the urgency of an immediate armed uprising. But was it because of this that Lenin called them strikebreakers and demanded that they should be expelled from the Party? Not at all. He was indignant over something else—over a step taken by Zinovyev and Kamenev which was totally unbefitting Party members: they made a statement for the open (non-Bolshevik) press on an issue adopted by the Central Committee, and brought their opposition to the Central Committee into the open. Such an interpretation of the "October episode", I think, helps to understand Lenin's political assessment of Zinovyev and Kamenev made five years later.

Throughout these years they continued to be among Lenin's closest associates. Lenin was loth to recall mistakes which had been completely set right unless there was a particular reason for it. But "a particular reason for it" appeared at the end of 1922 when Lenin, gravely ill, started dictating his "Letter to the Congress". Speaking about Zinovyev—perhaps for the last time in his life—Lenin took an uncompromising stand by saying that the "October episode" was by no means accidental.

Lenin must have been referring, above all, to Zinovyev's unrestrained political ambitions that manifested themselves as early as

October 1917—ambitions that threatened to evolve into "a lust for political leadership". We have no ground for the assumption that Zinovyev (or Kamenev for that matter) aspired to the "cult of his personality" in the early 1920s, in the sense that we understand it now. No doubt he must have been aware that none of Lenin's associates could measure up to the late leader's stature and, in principle, supported the idea of collective leadership. Yet he would reserve a special role in it for himself. The same objective was pursued by Leon Trotsky, though from his standpoint and in keeping with his own ambitions. Yet Trotsky's prestige sank considerably after the ideas propounded by him and his supporters had been condemned by the Party majority in 1923 and then at the 13th Party Conference in January 1924 as an attempt to revise Bolshevism from the positions of an explicitly petty-bourgeois deviation.

It was Zinovyev and Kamenev who led the ideological struggle against the Trotskyites. Also taking part was the then little-known Stalin who, shortly before that, in April 1922, had been recommended by Kamenev to the newly-instituted post of the General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee. This "troika" or trio—Zinovyev, Kamenev and Stalin—was playing the leading role in the Politburo of the Central Committee when Lenin died.

In May 1924, five days before the opening of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party, Lenin's widow, Nadezhda Krupskaya, handed in the "Letter to the Congress" to the Central Committee Commission. It has been noted more than once in contemporary literature that Zinovyev, Kamenev and Stalin had a major part to play in concealing this major document from the Party and in refusing to act on its recommendations. It should be added that on the strength of their rivalry with Trotsky, Zinovyev and Kamenev essentially ignored Lenin's warning, expressed in no uncertain terms, that the greatest threat to the stability of the Party leadership at the time came from the antagonistic relations between Trotsky and Stalin. Acting in the interests of their rivalry with Trotsky and despite Lenin's opinion, Zinovyev and Kamenev succeeded in their efforts to let Stalin continue as General Secretary. In fact, they preferred to preserve what appeared to them a favourable balance of forces, even though Lenin's letter opened with the insistent advice to "undertake at that Congress a number of changes in our political structure".

Indeed, the "October episode" turned out not to have been accidental, as Lenin pointed out. In a way, it was unfortunately repeated in 1924, but with a different implication. In 1917 Zinovyev and Kamenev had appealed to a wide audience outside the Communist Party, whereas in 1924 they concealed the leader's crucial advice from the Party and did not follow it.

The logic of one false step led to others, some of which might have looked insignificant at first glance. Early in the 1920s two towns with the same name—Trotsk—appeared on the country's maps (one of them is now Chapayevsk, the other—Gatchina). Then, in 1924, the town of Yelizavetgrad was renamed Zinovyevsk and simultaneously, another Ukrainian town, Yuzovka, disappeared from the maps to become known as Stalino. The following year Tsaritsin on the Volga became Stalingrad... The first renamings (which snowballed at a later date) were the first symptoms of leadership's cult which paved the way to authoritarian rule.

Other symptoms were soon to follow. Back in the summer of 1923 a group of the Party's Central Committee members, including Grigori Zinovyev, Mikhail Frunze and Grigori Ordzhonikidze, held an unofficial "cave meeting" near Kislovodsk, a resort town in the North Caucasus. They pointed to the increasing power of the Stalin-led Secretariat and Organizational Bureau (Orgburo) of the Central Committee. A compromise solution was reached: the Politburo members Zinovyev, Trotsky and Bukharin would sit on the Orgburo as well. Yet none of them, as Zinovyev admitted later, took part in the current work of the Orgburo nor attended any of its meetings. That was also a significant trait. Later, in 1926, Felix Dzerzhinsky was to tell Kamenev to his face, "You are intriguing rather than working..." Didn't these words apply to Zinovyev as well—a man whose taking part in a "game at political priesthood", in contravention of the Leninist principles of collective leadership, led him into a blind alley as a Bolshevik revolutionary and, ultimately, to a personal tragedy?

This "game" kept him from openly admitting his mistake on the issue of Lenin's behest at the crucial 14th Congress of the Communist Party in 1925. His attempt to side with Kamenev, Sokolnikov and other delegates against the growing power of Stalin was not only belated but it was brought to nil by his stand on issues of socialist construction, which clashed with the general Party line. But Stalin never forgot that attempt. Zinovyev did not draw the right conclusions either.

Having proceeded against Trotsky from Bolshevik positions in 1923-1924, Zinovyev joined his cause after his defeat at the 14th Party Congress. Late in 1927 the 15th Party Congress expelled him along with other active members of the opposition from the Party.

Although the following year Zinovyev confessed to his wrongdoing and was reinstated in the Party ranks, his political life came to an end. As for his personal destiny, he found himself to an even greater extent at the cruel mercy of the man whom he had helped so much to

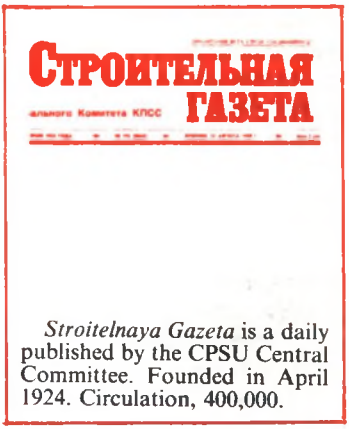
consolidate power, thus objectively contributing to the nascent personality cult.

In the small hours of December 16, 1934, the door of a prison cell banged shut behind Zinovyev, who had for the past few years been a member of the Collegium of Central Consumers' Society, for good. On August 24, 1936, Ulrich, on behalf of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court, read out the sentence—execution by firing squad, and the next day he was executed.

Criticizing Zinovyev's political ambitions in the 1920s, one of the oldest and most upright Bolsheviks, Alexei Rykov, uttered these prophetic words:

"With or without Zinovyev, with or without Rykov, the Communist Party will endure. The October Revolution will outlive us..."

Grigori Zinovyev's name is inseparably linked with our history, filled with both heroic and dramatic pages.



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Vladimir GLEBOV,
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"We are against a leader's cult"

My parents got married in 1926. She was a wonderful woman, my mother. Clever, gifted and well-educated. On leaving a gymnasium for girls in Tver*, she graduated from an art school and then, from the Moscow College of Electrical Engineering (!). She joined the Bolshevik Party in 1916 at the age of twenty and took part in the February and the Great October Socialist Revolutions of 1917. Early in the 1920s my mother, Tatyana Glebova, was in charge of the Women's Department of the Moscow Soviet (City Council).

Only a few photographs have survived to this day, but nearly all of them show my mother—alone or with comrades—with her face turned toward the ruggedly cut edge. There, beyond that rugged line, was the face of my father, long forgotten and disgraced, who vanished in the abyss that has engulfed the country's many best sons and daughters. But good friends have managed to keep a couple of intact photographs. One of them was taken on the Italian Island of Capri. I don't know the photographer's name. Perhaps it was Maxim Peshkov, Maxim Gorky's son. My parents were visiting the writer who lived in Italy at the time. This photograph seems eerily prophetic to me. My father taking a dip in the sea, all alone in a boundless,

* *Tver* (now Kalinin), a large industrial city in the upper reaches of the Volga, an administrative regional centre of the Russian Federation.

smooth expanse of the deep. A dark cliff is visible in the distance. It was in 1927, when my father, Lev Kamenev, was the Soviet ambassador to Rome. Only a few weeks were to pass before he was recalled to Moscow and arrested.

At first he was exiled to the Siberian town of Achinsk, from 1927 to 1929, and then, in 1933 and 1934, to Minusinsk. I have a vague memory of this second exile. But quite recently I had a living confirmation to my childhood's recollections. A man visited me (I won't mention his name) and said he had been among the guards dispatching us to Siberia. "You were a tiny thing, tow-headed, like a girl," he said. "Half of the carriage compartment was stacked with books..." I remember all that.

True, we soon returned to Moscow again. After this exile I learned about the existence of my two stepbrothers born of my father's first marriage to Olga Bronstein, Leon Trotsky's sister. I knew about the younger son, Yura, only from hearsay, but I met the older one, Alexander, quite often—he would come to us in the last few months before my father's final arrest.

Upon returning from Minusinsk, my father was appointed director of the Academia Publishers, while my mother headed the Moscow Technical School of Electrical Engineering.

I clearly remember my parents' arrest in December 1934. Polite people in military uniforms thoroughly examined all the things in our flat, even the books and the bed in my room. Then I recall other flats where I was living then, without my parents. In the mid-summer of 1935, soon after someone had taken me over to Maxim Gorky's cottage in the countryside, my mother showed up there and took me away with her. We went to the town of Biysk in the Altai Mountains. For some time we kept getting letters from my father, put in what was termed a political prison, in the Urals. I remember various funny episodes he described specially for me. I liked particularly the story about a hedgehog that got, I think, into Zinovyev's shoe—it gave him quite a start when he felt his foot prickled!

My mother was arrested again in the autumn of 1936. Many, many years later I read this sentence: "Convicted for being in correspondence with her husband, the enemy of the people Kamenev, and for uttering views censuring the activity of the Party and the Government."

Spending a year in a Biysk reception centre, I was sent to a children's home in the settlement of Chichka-yul in the Tomsk Region, in West Siberia. A very remote place it was. From Tomsk we took a barge down the River Chulym to the town of Pyshkin-Troitsk. Then a two-week trek across the taiga, on horse-drawn

carts. This is where the children of "the people's enemies" were sent. But we were never allowed to stay long at one and the same place. After Chichka-yul I was moved over to a children's home in the village of Torbeyevo in what is now Kemerovo Region. Leaving the establishment, I enrolled in the Tenth Special Artillery School in Prokopievsk, which was evacuated from Leningrad besieged by German invaders. The Second World War was on. Like all of my school-mates, I joined the Komsomol and was eager to go to the battlefront. I was living the common, hard life of a wartime adolescent. Few of my comrades knew that I was the son of the "arch enemies of the people". Not that I concealed that, but at that time I didn't bear the father's name any longer.

People often ask me, when and how I've changed my surname. Well, I have never changed it; no one asked my consent. I was still Kamenev at Chichka-yul. Then I was told that I was Kamenev-Glebov. Then my mother's name was placed first, and I became Glebov-Kamenev. And later, just Glebov. From time to time I was summoned to the children's home principal and he would tell me to put down all the new data into my diary and copy-books. That's all. I still don't know how to explain all this. Sometimes it occurs to me that our teachers in the children's homes were not so blindly obedient and did what they could to save us, the innocent victims of reprisals. Perhaps it was thanks to this that I managed to finish the artillery school with much success in 1945 and, together with my school-mates, was able to dream of entering into big life. The war came to an end, and the radiant future appeared to be within reach. I was admitted to the Department of History at Leningrad University. My academic performance was good. But ill luck would have it that I graduated much later than my class-mates did.

Grim times were to succeed the merry events and emotion-packed student days. It happened so matter-of-factly. In January 1950 I was summoned to the university authorities. "You have not justified the trust of Motherland and Comrade Stalin. 'Worthy' son of your parents indeed"—was the verdict. All of my guilt was that I had written a few limericks; it was common student mischiefs. Patterned after Alexander Pushkin's narrative poem *Eugene Onegin*, they were a sort of substitute for the Tenth Chapter, of which only few lines remained. I described adventures of Pushkin's characters in our university and hostel. I still remember the silly, awkward lines which seemed to me so funny in those days: "...And the enraged hero, flexing his leg, kicked the dear friend smash in the head.."

The investigator told me I was a dangerous repeat offender, and inveterate Trotskyite, and that it was actually going to be my third term. So, it appeared, I had served my first term at the

age of four when I was staying with my parents in the Minusinsk exile... Thus, against my will, I went to carry out the Volga-Don canal project. I was engaged in delivering timber to the construction area. Like many of my companions in distress, I was rehabilitated in 1956.

My return to normal life was no easy one. I was reinstated at the university as a fourth, and not fifth-year student. I followed the advice of good people for I had to come round and recall what I had learned long ago.

Like all of my compatriots, I was searching for answers to many questions, and what a complex and painful search it was! Much earlier, working at the construction of the Volga-Don canal together with people convicted under Article 58 of the Penal Code ("counter-revolutionary activity"), I had gotten rid of the subconscious shame—instilled in my mind in the children's homes—for my parents, the "enemies of the people". I did not believe any longer that hundreds of thousands—nay, millions!—could be enemies of their own people. And I heard an "unofficial" opinion about my father from the camp prisoners. So, back in those days I had understood a lot and exculpated him in my heart. Reinstated at the university, I started looking for Lev Kamenev's literary works and reading whatever I managed to find. I was eager to get down to brass tacks. The 20th CPSU Congress that condemned the Stalin personality cult (1956)—as well as my own experiences—helped me comprehend the tragedy of the homeland. Still and all, some misgivings would persist in me that my father, though he was no enemy, of course, but—how to put it more exactly—he was not a real Bolshevik and follower of Lenin. And so I got down to in-depth studies of Marxism-Leninism and the Party's history. From the positions of the newly acquired knowledge, from the positions of Leninism, I was eager to fathom my father's life path, works and ideas.

In Lev Kamenev's lifetime, prior to his last arrest in December 1934, several volumes of his works had been published. I don't think this is all he has written. Apart from the major works on theory and the studies on the credo and activity of the Russian writers, philosophers and revolutionary democrats Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Chernyshevsky, there were many smaller and average works, both in volume and significance, reflecting the essence of the moment in the volatile political life of the given period of time.

That Lev Kamenev's views were consonant with the spirit of his times is clearly testified by a report he made instead of the gravely ill Lenin at the 11th Party Conference in December 1921. The title of the report was "The Current Tasks of the Party in Connection with Economic Recovery"; it summed up the first results of NEP (the

New Economic Policy). Lev Kamenev also took part in drafting the resolution of the conference. My father's views on economics are best of all condensed in the following paragraph reflecting the standpoint of the majority of the delegates:

"The main task of the Russian Communist Party in the economic field at the present moment is to direct the economic work of Soviet government so that, proceeding from the existence of a market and taking into account its laws, master them and, by means of consistent and thoroughly deliberated economic steps, predicated on an exact account of market processes, take into its hands control over the market and money circulation."

The conference called for a speedy recovery of the heavy industry and farming, and the implementation of the plan for establishing commodity-money relations, a deficit-free state budget, and for developing all forms of cooperation. The conference outlined a set of measures to stimulate economic rehabilitation, among them, cuts in the administrative personnel, the development of cost-accounting and the promotion of leasing small and medium-sized industrial enterprises.

As a valuable relic I keep the first volumes of the first edition of Vladimir Lenin's *Collected Works*. My father wrote the preface, under the title "V. I. Lenin: Facts, Situation, Ideas". I do not know whether my father prefaced subsequent volumes since the first edition of Lenin's works was withdrawn from the libraries long ago. I still hope it may exist somewhere in full.

At any rate, historians ought to recognize the fact that Lev Kamenev was not only Vladimir Lenin's comrade-in-arms, he was actually his first serious biographer and the first researcher of his theoretical heritage. This is very important to me personally. To my great regret, I am unable to tell about my father in more detail. I can hardly imagine how he was in the family, among comrades, and how he acted in a dispute... In short, I don't remember my father as a living person. But this is a fact that he has sacrificed all of his life to the revolutionary cause. Now, judge for yourselves: four arrests under the tsar, two—in Britain, one—by white-guard Finns and three—under Stalin, who ultimately ordered his execution.

In any situation would this man consistently defend his views. And if he changed some of his views, it was not because he took the cue from someone above, but because he himself assessed and reassessed the facts and events of social life. The same is true of many others, of those people who stood with Lenin at the source of the Socialist Revolution. Even their mistakes were those of the pioneers and they were able, without sparing their ego, to abandon their delusions in a bold and sincere manner.

Much is being written today that after Lenin's death, a leading core shaped up within the Politburo in the persons of Kamenev, Stalin and Zinovyev. It is from this leading core, according to some researchers, that the violations of the democratic principles of leadership sprung. But here I beg to differ, not as Lev Kamenev's son, but as a social scientist. I'll try to prove my point.

Let's look into the facts. In 1921, Vyacheslav Molotov became a Central Committee Secretary in charge of the personnel. I believe (and there are testimonies of old Bolsheviks thereof) that as early as in 1921 and 1922, still under Lenin, he found a common language with Stalin, who became General Secretary. Molotov was a real master in building up a bureaucratic apparatus on the principles of personal loyalty. It would be very interesting, I think, to look into how he installed the needed people as secretaries of the Central Committees in Soviet republics and of the regional and area Party Committees. And those people, in turn, molded the structure of Party locals and screened delegates to the Party Congresses.

Under Khrushchev the materials of Party Congresses were published again. We had these publications in our Institute too. True, after 1965 they somehow vanished into thin air. But even under Khrushchev the materials of the 14th Party Congress were not republished. Why? Because it would have then become clear that the 20th Congress actually fulfilled what the so-called "new opposition" demanded in 1926. Addressing the 14th Party Congress late in 1925, my father said this:

"...Here are the points of our dissensions. The main one is that we are against a leader's cult. We are against the making of a sole leader, we are for a collective leadership of the Politburo. We believe that Comrade Stalin does not befit the post of a unifier of the Leninist headquarters and that of the Party and state head..."

At this point, testify the records, carefully screened and instructed hecklers shout: "There, you have shown your true face at last!"

Grigori Yevdokimov of the Leningrad Party Organization rises to his feet, "Long Live the Leninist Central Committee!" But this is drowned by loud shouts from the delegates from provinces, "Long Live Comrade Stalin!" All of the audience gives a standing ovation to Comrade Stalin.

That's how it was. The unanimity of the audience was ensured by organizational measures. Historians ought to investigate how such things were arranged. This is long overdue.

Those distant years when, after my rehabilitation in 1956, I went through the throes of reappraisal, doubts and constant quest for my father's heritage and cleared him in my heart of all blemish, were the

most valuable to me. But outwardly my life was up the spiral, so to speak. I was sent to Siberia again, only this time to take a job which I was assigned to upon graduation. For some time I worked as a schoolteacher in the Novosibirsk Region and there joined the CPSU. I am proud that I became a member of the Party local organization at a coal-mine. Then I moved to Novosibirsk: I wanted to be closer to major libraries, for I went on with the earlier mentioned studies. Probably because of this I was invited to join the staff of the newly-established Chair of Philosophy at the Novosibirsk Institute of Electrical Engineering. Then I defended my thesis for an academic degree.

My students, like all of the modern youth, are taking a profound interest in the events of those years and in the process of rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinism. This is logical. Because the retrieval of good names is one of the guarantees of perestroika. Launched in the Khrushchev years, this process was then suppressed. This happened, I think, because Khrushchev was a product of the Stalinist system himself and could not, was unable to fight it by methods other than those typical of the system. It so happened that as soon as he had found the clue to the problem and made an attempt at reducing the term of office for high-ranking Party and government officials, the system ate him up immediately.

When the people is unable to control the apparatus of power and the bureaucracy takes hold of the state, it evolves into a class in itself and for itself.

I believe that the 19th Party Conference has demonstrated a very high level of awareness of the bureaucratic menace. It has outlined a theoretical and organizational premise for rooting out the bureaucracy and setting up an administrative apparatus of the people and for the people. It has rejected the practice of life-time incumbency. In my view, this is one of the keystones of the reform of the political system, a reform which the Communists and all of the Soviet people ought to implement quickly, within the period of time indicated by the conference. That will give "the green light" to a genuine economic reform which, because of the still persisting bureaucracy, is still skidding but which is so vital for the rise of the people's well-being and the strengthening of our homeland.

Recorded by Alexander BEZRYADIN

ВОПРОСЫ ИСТОРИИ

Voprosy Istorii is a monthly journal published by the Department of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences and by the State Committee for Public Education. Founded in 1926. Circulation, 19,000.

Vladimir GHENIS,
journalist

Russian hard currency*

Russian hard currency is one of the few currencies that is quoted slightly above the dollar. This is how the US press appraised the results of the famous currency reform implemented in the Soviet Union in the 1920s. Meanwhile, the name of the first People's Commissar (Minister) for Finance had been scratched from history books for well over half a century, even though this name was bound up with the appearance of the first Soviet hard currency, the chervonets.**

"...He likes paradoxes... Our kind, talented and most valuable Comrade Sokolnikov...," this is how Lenin spoke of Grigori Sokolnikov, a prominent Bolshevik, active participant in two Russian revolutions and in the Civil War, one of the most respected leaders of the Party's Central Committee and of the Communist International's Executive Committee.

It is not much to say that the name of the People's Commissar for Finance was known to all the literate citizens of the USSR. The name was closely associated with the famous monetary reform of 1922-24 which enabled this country to do away with financial

* Abridged.

** *Chervonets*, gold coin of 3.5 or 10 chervonets denomination; or 10-rouble bank-note in circulation in 1922-47.

disarray and cope with a mammoth budget deficit and quadrillions of depreciated bank-notes, the *Sovznaks*. That reform stopped the galloping prices.

The name of the "Bolshevik financier" Grigori Sokolnikov was intimately connected with the hard Soviet chervonets, the "gold bank-note", the "phenomenon of the organized economy" which even the tycoons of the capitalist world came to treat with much respect.

Without foreign aid and under the conditions of a credit blockade, the Soviet state succeeded in setting up a convertible currency, common throughout its entire territory. The dormant giant arises, the American press wrote, and nothing can stop the USSR's ultimate recovery. As early as 1925 the Soviet chervonets was officially quoted at the stock exchanges of Vienna, Kaunas, Constantinople, Milan, Revel, Riga, Rome, Teheran, Ulan Bator, Harbin and Shanghai. Broad-based operations involving chervonets were carried out in Britain, Germany, Holland, Poland, the United States and in many other countries. "Chervontsi are quoted above any other European currency," reported the United Press International.

Speaking at the 13th Congress of the RCP(B) in May 1924, one of the delegates recalled a talk he had had with a nepman.* The nepman said that the Bolsheviks owed a monument to the man who had implemented the currency reform—such a formidable job it was! But there was no monument for the slandered and victimized Finance Commissar. Probably no one will ever find the common grave where he was buried. The brilliant results of his brainchild, the monetary reform, were as good as brought to naught after the phasedown of NEP.

The year was 1921. The financial situation of the Soviet Republic was catastrophic. Uncontrolled emission of Sovznak bank-notes was practically the only means of covering the enormous budget deficit. The purchasing power of the paper money was nose-diving: it plummeted to 1/50,000th of what it had been before the war, in 1913. The prices were growing by leaps and bounds. In this dire situation Sokolnikov, whom Lenin recommended as a member of the Narkomfin** Collegium and the Fiscal Commission of the Central Committee of the RCP(B)*** and Sovnarkom, became one of the architects of the New Economic Policy in the financial sphere.

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* *Nepman*—private entrepreneur of the 1920s (derived from NEP, New Economic Policy).

** *Narkomfin*—abbreviation of the People's Commissariat (Ministry) for Finance.

*** *RCP(B)*, the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks, see the *Appendix*.

On December 31, 1921, the Politburo considered the question of appointing Sokolnikov Deputy People's Commissar for Finance. "I am for it," Lenin wrote on Nikolai Krestinsky's letter, the then Finance Commissar, who approved Grigori Sokolnikov's candidature. On January 10, 1922, there followed the official decision of the Sovnarkom. Since Krestinsky had been appointed ambassador to Germany a few months earlier, Sokolnikov had to take charge of the Narkomfin, the People's Commissariat for Finance.

In his theses for the 11th Party Congress in 1922 ("The Main Points of the Fiscal Programme") Sokolnikov set out the guidelines. First, to increase the commodity turnover by developing trade—internal and external trade, as well as the trade through state, cooperative and private outlets. Second, to reduce and then eliminate the budget deficit; balance the budget through drastic cuts in state budget expenditures and in the administrative apparatus; shift a significant portion of expenditures to less deficient local budgets and also, achieve an all-round increase in state revenues; and finally, to reform the tax system. A gold backing of the paper money was pointed out as an immediate goal.

The implementation of this programme took place in the atmosphere of heated debates and controversies. Sokolnikov's reports and speeches at Party forums, sessions of the All-Russia and All-Union Central Executive Councils (VTsIK) and Congresses of the Soviets sparked off violent clashes of opinion. Many "red managers" maintained that the source of the fiscal crisis was not in the overabundance of inflated paper money; they said it was just the opposite, there was a shortage of money and floating assets for the restoration and development of industries. The Narkomfin head was accused of a narrow departmental approach and of a lighthearted attitude to industrial investments. Indignant demands were made that the "anti-emissionary zeal" be stopped immediately.

"Curbing emission is the main political and economic task, but it is by no means a departmental task," Grigori Sokolnikov countered in his address to the 11th Party Congress in March 1922. *"Say, if a patient comes to his doctor and asks for opium, for an injection of a placebo morphine, and so on, and if this is a dying patient, of course, he needs some relief of the agony for a few hours, and so the doctor ought to administer morphine, any humane doctor will do that. But are we in a similar situation? And consequently, can we suggest that the Congress approve it as a system for our fiscal policy to continue poisoning the organism of our economy? This is a grave mistake."*

Particularly irritating to some economic managers at the congress were Sokolnikov's words to the effect that most of the industries integrated in trusts and operating according to cost-accounting

continued to sponge on the state and were a heavy burden for the state budget. Following Lenin, Sokolnikov said that the market would be the touchstone of the vitality of state trusts. Industry, he argued, should be run in keeping with the principle of payability, it should be market-oriented, and work primarily for the market.

As early as January 1922 Sokolnikov came forward with the idea of establishing a second stable currency, parallel to the Sovznak bank-notes. Issued by the State Bank, the new money was freely exchangeable for the Sovznaks. The same year, late in November, the first "gold bank-notes", the chervontsi, appeared in circulation. They had the same parity as ten-rouble gold coins issued under the tsar.

On November 20, 1922, Grigori Sokolnikov was received by gravely ill Lenin for the last time. For more than an hour and a half they discussed the country's finances and the performance of the State Bank, the industrial investments and taxes, and the rouble's rate. Two days later, the Presidium of VTsIK (the All-Russia Central Executive Committee) endorsed Sokolnikov's appointment as the People's Commissar for Finance of the Russian Soviet Republic. He was thirty-four at the time. As the All-Union Council of People's Commissars was set up in 1923, Sokolnikov became the People's Commissar for Finance of the USSR.

Lenin did not make a mistake in his choice of Sokolnikov. The circulation of chervontsi and then, in the spring of 1924, the issue of treasury notes, and the mintage of silver and copper coins made it possible to discontinue the emission of Sovznaks for good. As a consequence, prices were stabilized and commodities became less expensive. The Soviet finance department had never enjoyed such prestige and popularity as it did in the mid-1920s.

Those years were the pinnacle of Sokolnikov's career. He was elected Candidate Member of the Central Committee's Politburo and of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International; a member of the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), of the Labour and Defence Council, and of the USSR Central Executive Committee.

Meanwhile, differences in the Party leadership were getting worse. Sokolnikov joined the so-called "New Opposition" (Zinovyev, Kamenev, Krupskaya and others). *"In the autumn of 1925,"* he wrote later in his autobiography, *"I defended the necessity, alongside the provision of conditions for the rapid development of agriculture as a base of powerful industry, to pursue a clear-cut class policy towards the countryside and during the inner-Party differences of 1925 and 1926 supported the minority within the Central Committee."*

Speaking at the 14th Congress of the AUCP(B)* in December 1925, Sokolnikov declared that the Party did not have a sufficiently coordinated and firm leadership and that there was a policy to "cut off" Kamenev and Zinovyev from the leadership. Any difference in the Politburo on any political issue, he said, rebounded in the organizational work. *"Under Comrade Lenin,"* Sokolnikov pointed out, *"we had a Party leadership in which the Central Committee Politburo orchestrated the work, and so now there is all the reason for us to revert to that order... Lenin was neither chairman of the Politburo nor General Secretary, and nevertheless Comrade Lenin had a decisive political say in our Party. And should we argue with him, we argued after thinking thrice. This is why I say: if Comrade Stalin wants to enjoy such confidence in him as Comrade Lenin enjoyed, let him win this confidence."*

Sokolnikov maintained that a free exchange of opinion on all issues ought to be guaranteed within the Politburo; the very possibility of appearing within this body of knocked together, isolated groups should be excluded. *"All of us, all of the Party needs that,"* he stressed.

Even though elected by the Congress to the Party Central Committee, Grigori Sokolnikov was relieved of the duties of the People's Commissar on January 16, 1926.

Appointed Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, Sokolnikov took part in drafting the First Five-Year Plan for Economic Development. He called for realistic targets that could provide not only for rapid, but also smooth industrialization rates, "most painless for the popular masses". Setting targets to achieve the country's self-sufficiency in everything within a very short term of five years, Sokolnikov warned, meant shifting an unbearable burden on the USSR's national economy. So far we are dealing with planned targets, he stressed, but soon we shall be dealing with living people.

Alas, the champions of crash industrialization rates would not heed the sober voices of those whom they denigrated as "sceptics" and "pessimists". The adventurist policy of "superindustrialization" with all the ensuing negative consequences got the upper hand. Realistically-minded economists like Sokolnikov, independent in their judgement and assessments, stood in the way of the Stalinist course. First gagged, they were physically exterminated afterwards.

When at the Moscow Party Conference in January 1934 Sokolnikov, at that time Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign

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* *AUCP(B)* (hist.)—the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), see *Appendix*.

Affairs and Candidate Member of the Central Committee, took the floor, hecklers in the hall would not let him speak (quite possible this was masterminded). They demanded that the speaker tell them about his "mistakes in the field of industrialization".

"Excuse this simple thought," he said to the audience, *"but do you really think that you, present here, take a correct view of the Leninist way and that I cannot see it at all and cannot return to it?"* The answer came from one of the Presidium of the Conference. That was Lazar Kaganovich, First Secretary of the Moscow Party Committee and Politburo Member. *"You see, Comrade Sokolnikov,"* he said to the accompaniment of the "stormy, resounding applause", *"the workers and peasants understood this long ago, but such people as you, for example, who thought themselves 'clever', have gone astray and become a cat's paw of the enemy of the working class, Leninism and the Party. That's why the delegates are so excited, they want to hear the truth about your mistakes, let it be half-truth only, they want to learn it from 'clever-heads' like you."*

In his concluding words Kaganovich made mocking remarks; he said that any collective-farm peasant woman was more politically educated than the "scientist" Sokolnikov.

But the real truth was that Grigori Sokolnikov had left the opposition back in the summer of 1927. In December, the 15th Party Congress re-elected him to the Central Committee. The 16th Party Congress in 1930 and the 17th Congress in January 1934 elected him Candidate Member of the Central Committee. Sokolnikov was also a member of the USSR Central Executive Committee. All that notwithstanding, he and many other former members of Party oppositions were always reproached for the "old sins", both real and imaginary. These people were constantly pressured into recanting their former "criminal" views, they were made to besmear themselves and those who had shared their views. They were supposed to extol and glorify the wisdom and the "peerless" guidance of the "beloved leader". Clenching their teeth, the old Bolsheviks, Lenin's associates, accepted the rules of that dishonest game. They feared lest they should find themselves outside the Party, without which they could not conceive of their life. They accepted that game for the sake of their active involvement in social remodelling. To this cause they dedicated all of their life. But even demoralized, they were still dangerous to Stalin, they were a living reproach, a living reminder of the principles of Party democracy trampled underfoot.

Sokolnikov was arrested on July 26, 1936. One can only guess what heinous tortures, physical and moral, had to be used to extort the false confession of guilt from a man whose spirit had not been broken by tsarist henchmen, a man who had risked his life

on many occasions, who had not "bowed to bullets" at the fronts of the Civil War. Sokolnikov was tried on trumped-up charges together with other members of the so-called "parallel Trotskyist Centre" in January 1937. On January 30, the sentence was read out. Ten-year imprisonment for Sokolnikov. His martyrdom in a political prison in the Upper Urals did not last long. His life was cut short in 1939.

The posthumous political rehabilitation of the Leninist People's Commissar for Finance took place only fifty years later.

ЛИТЕРАТУРНАЯ ГАЗЕТА

Literary Gazette, a weekly published by the USSR Writers' Union. Founded in 1929. Circulation, 3,874,000.

Arkadi VAKSBERG,
writer

He speaks to us as a living man to the living...

It was on August 21, 1932, that ten or twelve rank-and-file members of the Communist Party got together at Pyotr Silchenko's, a humble clerk. None of them present there was a man of consequence in either state or civic affairs. They met to discuss and amend the text of a document drafted by their comrade. His name was known far and wide in the country. But by that time he had been barred from any active involvement in public activities. Nonetheless, the man did not resign himself to a quiet life of humility. He was Martemyan Ryutin.

A Biographical Sketch

Born in 1890 in the village of Verkhneye Ryutino of the former Ust-Udin Volost* of Irkutsk Province. A peasant's son. Joined the Communist Party in 1914. Graduated from a teachers' seminary. Profession: schoolmaster and journalist. Took part in the Civil War (1918-20) on the side of the Red Army, in the Lake Baikal Area.

* *Volost*, the smallest administrative division in tsarist Russia.

Chairman of a Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Harbin* (1917), and then commander of the troops of the Irkutsk** military district, Deputy Chairman of the regional executive committee and Secretary of the Irkutsk Regional Committee of the RCP(B)... In 1923, Secretary of the Party's Regional Committee in Daghestan.***

His references as a Party member have been preserved to this day. One of them reads as follows:

"A major theoretician and journalist with a good Marxist grounding, an excellent lecturer... May be employed at any responsible Party work... Morally unimpeachable..."

And another character reference: "His communist ethic is unimpeachable."

Otto Karklin, an eminent Party figure of the day, said in his report to the Central Committee on the results of his trip to Daghestan, "No matter with whom I talked, everyone spoke very highly of Comrade Ryutin." Accordingly, it was decided to promote Ryutin to a responsible job in Moscow. However, the South-Eastern Buro of the Central Committee tried to overrule the decision, writing, "We categorically object to Comrade Ryutin's transfer."

Yet these objections were not taken into consideration because top-notch Party workers were needed in the capital. Just the same, at the 12th Party Congress in 1923 Ryutin represented Daghestan (while he earlier had been delegated by Irkutsk Communists to the 10th Congress in 1921). Subsequently he was elected as a delegate to the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th Party Congresses and to several conferences. He was always in the thick of things and knew the real situation not from rumour and hearsay.

This is what he wrote in 1932, in the document which his friends met to discuss (a few weeks later this meeting would be branded as a "clandestine gathering of plotters", and this would seal Ryutin's doom):

"The Party and proletarian dictatorship, brought by Stalin and his retinue into an impasse, are going through a mortally grave crisis. By deceit and libel, by wholesale violence and terror, under the flag of a struggle for the purity of the Bolshevik principles and the Party unity, and by relying on the centralized Party apparatus, Stalin in the past five years has cut off and eliminated from the leadership the best,

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* *Harbin*, a town in North China, the site of the Board of the Russian-owned Chinese Eastern Railway and the place where the Russian troops guarding the railway were billeted.

** *Irkutsk*, a major administrative, industrial and cultural centre in East Siberia and a regional centre of the Russian Federation.

*** *Daghestan*, an autonomous Soviet Republic in the North Caucasus.

genuinely Bolshevik cadres of the Party, has imposed his personal dictatorship on the Party and on the entire country, has broken off with Leninism and embarked on the path of unbridled adventurism and savage arbitrary rule..."

Today we have bitter and cogent experience behind us and true knowledge of the aftermath of the Stalinist course. Casting up the balance, and not prophesying, we may judge with good fidelity what price our country has paid for the power-lust and cruelty of a single man supported by a few political gamblers who "staked on the leader" and truckled to him. Although Ryutin did not and could not know **all** that our people were going to live through, the precision of his analysis is staggering indeed: it seems as if some of the provisions of his document have been written today—suffice it to substitute the past for the present and the future tenses of the text. After more than fifty years he still speaks to us, as it were, as a living man to the living:

"The adventurist industrialization rates, entailing a colossal drop in the real pay of workers and employees; the unbearable burden of direct and hidden taxes, inflation and depreciation of the chervonets; the adventurist collectivization through 'dispossession of the kulaks', actually spearheaded against the middle and poor peasants; and lastly, the expropriation of the countryside by all kinds of requisitions and enforced procurements—all this has brought the country to a deep economic crisis, to the monstrous impoverishment of the popular masses and famine... Further impoverishment of the proletariat is in prospect... Every personal incentive to farming has been damped, and all work hangs on bare compulsion and reprisals... Every young and sound person flees from the countryside, millions of people, torn from productive work, are roaming the country and overpopulating the cities, while the remaining rural population is starving... Further impoverishment, neglect and desolation of the countryside is in prospect..."

As Secretary of the District Party Committee of Krasnaya Presnya* and editor of the army newspaper *Red Star;* as member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy of the USSR; and, finally, as President of the Photo-and-Cine-Industry Board, Ryutin was able to judge competently what was happening to the country, to feel the people's mood, and distinguish reality from slogans, and truth from demagoguery. He became close to young philosophers and sociologists of the Institute of Red Professorship, the talented disciples of the Bukharin school, who exerted a great

* *Krasnaya Presnya* is Moscow's historic district, formerly a workers' township in the outskirts, known for its revolutionary traditions.

impact on his world outlook. As a result, his upright and high-principled positions consolidated.

Some people (for all our sympathy after the tragedy that befell them, we should not betray the truth), while even proving right in a controversy and not committing any crimes, were still guided by self-interest; they were after power, for a place close to the helm of the Party and the state. Not Ryutin! Rising not higher than the middle rungs of the administrative and Party ladder, he was only committed to the idea, the truth, and his country's welfare; only to this, and nothing more!

"A muzzle has been put on the entire country," we read further in Ryutin's appeal "To All Members of the AUCP(B)" (a manifesto that has not reached the Party in more than 56 years). *"Lawlessness, arbitrariness, violence and constant threats are over the head of every worker and peasant. Any revolutionary legality has been trampled underfoot!... The teachings of Marx and Lenin are being shamelessly distorted and falsified by Stalin and his clique. Science, literature and the arts are relegated to the level of menial servants and props of the Stalinist leadership. The struggle against opportunism has been debased and vulgarized, turned into a mockery, into a weapon of slander and terror against independent-minded members of the Party. The rights of the Party, as guaranteed by its Rules, have been usurped by a puny group of unprincipled political intriguers. Democratic centralism has been supplanted by the personal judgement of the leader, and collective leadership—by a system of proxies."*

About the same (the very same thing!)—perhaps not in such uncompromising, clear-cut and scathing wording—Ryutin had told the "great leader" two years before, right to his face! Candidate member of the Central Committee, member of the Moscow City Committee of the Party and an excellent speaker who turned on audiences at Party meetings—that's what Ryutin was at the time.

Right to His face!

The results were not long in coming.

On Stalin's orders the Presidium of the Central Control Commission of the AUCP(B) expelled Ryutin from the Party "for duplicity" and "for discrediting the Party leadership". A month later he was arrested—again on Stalin's order. The wholesale terror had not yet begun, the times were still different. The Collegium of the Unified State Political Directorate (OGPU) acquitted Ryutin on January 17, 1931 "on all counts of the indictment" (organizing a counter-revolutionary group and anti-Soviet agitation). Even more, he was reinstated in the Communist Party! Just imagine what "good" feelings the "Teacher and Leader" had for him after that...

Did Ryutin draw a lesson? Certainly. But not the customary one. Just the opposite!

The times were changing rapidly. Open and free discussions were soon out of the question. Arguments with the "Leader" were ruled out. Ryutin or any of the "dissenters" could no longer find a platform for airing their views. They could do but one thing only—circulate their appeals as one does leaflets. *"Read and pass on! Duplicate and spread!"*

"Any living, Bolshevist Party thought has been smothered by the threat of expulsion from the Party and from one's job, and deprivation of all means of subsistence; everything genuinely Leninist has been driven underground; genuine Leninism is turning, by and large, into a forbidden and illegal teaching.

"In the course of the in-fighting within the Party, with one leading group after another being cut off, the Party apparatus has grown into a self-perpetuating force over and above the Party itself, to dominate it and violate its conscience and will. Instead of the high-principled Party members ready to champion their point of view before anyone, it is dishonest, sly and unprincipled people that, more often than not, are promoted to the Party work, people who, on the orders of their chiefs, are prepared to change their views dozens of times over and again—the careerists, dissemblers and toadies."

It is doubtful that we shall ever learn the name of the person who betrayed the participants in the meeting and the text of the appeal. The leak, however, was unavoidable. The secrecy of an illegal organization—secrecy from his state and his people—was utterly alien to Ryutin. Quite the contrary. The message of the appeal was meant for all and sundry...

On September 20, 1932, Silchenko's flat (where the meeting had been held) was searched. The intruders knew exactly where the text of the appeal and Ryutin's earlier work "Stalin and the Crisis of the Proletarian Dictatorship" were kept. (This work has disappeared since then; but who knows, maybe it lies somewhere deep in some archives.) Three days later Ryutin was expelled from the Party and arrested. Another two weeks passed, and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission met in an emergency session.

From the Protocol

"...Heard: the activities of the counter-revolutionary group of Ryutin, Galkin and others.

"Ruled: expel them as demoralized individuals who have become enemies of Communism and Soviet power, traitors of the Party and

of the working class, who have been trying, illegally and under the false banner of Marxism-Leninism, to set up a bourgeois kulak organization with the aim of restoring capitalism, in particular, the class of kulaks, in the USSR..."

There followed a list of 20 names, including Zinovyev and Kamenev both of whom also had had a copy of the text of the appeal, but failed to inform. The decision instructed the OGPU: initiate criminal proceedings against the expelled, and "treat them with all the stringency of the revolutionary law".

Stalin demanded that Ryutin should be shot. However, Kirov, Ordzhonikidze, Kuibyshev and other Politburo members voiced their objections. Hence the sentence, passed in just two and a half weeks, was relatively mild, 10 years of imprisonment. The press, without going into particulars, reported about the "routing of a counter-revolutionary band".

"The press," said Ryutin's appeal, which the Central Control Commission denounced as betrayal, *"a mighty tool of communist education and a weapon of Leninism, has been turned by Stalin and his clique into a monstrous factory of deception, swindling and terror... By deceit and slander, shootings and arrests... by every means at their disposal this clique will defend their domination within the Party and in the country, for they regard the country as their feudal estate...*

"Even the boldest and the most ingenious instigator, try as he might, would have never invented anything better for the death of the proletarian dictatorship, for discrediting Leninism, socialist construction and socialism, for exploding them from within, than what Stalin and his clique have done...

"It is shameful and disgraceful for proletarian revolutionaries to continue to tolerate Stalin's yoke, his arbitrary rule and mockery of the Party and the working masses. He who is blind to this yoke, is insensitive to this arbitrariness and oppression, he who is not indignant over that is but a slave and not a Leninist, he is a lackey and not a proletarian revolutionary...

"Lenin's misgivings about Stalin, about his lack of loyalty, his dishonesty and bad faith, his inability to use power discreetly, have been fully justified. Stalin and his clique are destructing the cause of Communism, and so one ought to do away with Stalin and his leadership as soon as possible."

It was not Stalin who was done away with, however; the author of the appeal underestimated Stalin's real power. The 17th Communist Party Congress (January 1934) was approaching. Thereafter the "Leader" felt he was ready for more resolute and ruthless actions.

A "top secret" order has survived signed by Lyushkov, deputy head of a NKVD* department; it instructed to bring the "political prisoner" Ryutin to Moscow. Available also is a report by the Chief of Suzdal** jail, Alliluyev, who informed that Ryutin had refused to be moved and so "physical force had to be used".

Ryutin was brought to Moscow "in a separate compartment of a prisoners' car, under strong guard" (the report said). Berman, another ranking state security official, charged him with terrorism. Since Ryutin had spent the few preceding years in jail and could not undertake any fresh actions, the indictment referred to the same old words of his appeal for which he had been sentenced, "... *One ought to do away with Stalin and his leadership as soon as possible.*"

Ryutin asked for pen and paper. After quite a bit of bickering and wrangling, they gave him three scraps of yellow wrapping-paper with splotches of grease on them. It is on these scraps that Ryutin wrote an application to the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. Nikolai Yezhov, the NKVD chief, immediately forwarded this letter, under number 58562, to Stalin. Here are a few excerpts:

"I do not plead guilty, not to a single point... I have never been, nor shall I be, a terrorist... No penal legislation of any country, including Criminal Law of the Soviet Union, from the old Rome Code to that existing in our day and age, permits liability and punishment on one and the same count twice... As far as I know, the history of court proceedings and punitive policy in Europe and America has not have such a flagrant case on record over the past few centuries.

"... Being absolutely certain of my innocence and finding the present indictment absolutely unlawful, arbitrary and partial, dictated solely by animosity and by a thirst for a new, this time, bloody reprisal, I have categorically refused and continue to refuse to plead guilty to the charges brought against me; I do not intend to and shall not calumniate myself, no matter what the cost.

"I must add to what I have said that the very methods of the investigation applied to me are also utterly unlawful and impermissible. At every interrogation I am intimidated, shouted at as if I were an animal, insulted and, finally, I am not even allowed to give a motivated refusal to testify...

"... It goes without saying that I am not afraid of death... I shall not plead for mercy, for I am unable to recant, ask for a pardon or some leniency for what I have never done and of which I am absolutely

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* *NKVD* (hist.)—the People's Commissariat (Ministry) for Internal Affairs. See *Appendix*.

** *Suzdal*, an old Russian town east of Moscow.

innocent. But I cannot and shall not bear calmly the acts of lawlessness perpetrated against me, and I request protection for myself from them. In the case that I do not receive such protection I shall defend myself by whatever methods might be at the disposal of a defenseless prisoner without rights, bound hand and foot, sealed from the outside world and groundlessly persecuted.

M. Ryutin

November 4, 1936. The Internal Prison of Special Designation of the NKVD, Moscow."

The materials of the "case" do not contain anything revealing what happened in the two months that followed: filed after Yezhov's letter to Stalin was "Protocol No 00111 of a preparatory hearing at the Military Division of the USSR Supreme Court on January 9, 1937, with the participation of Ulrich (Chairman), Matulevich and Rychkov, and Procurator of the USSR Comrade Vyshinsky." The judges, after three humble mentions of "Comrade" Vyshinsky's name, said they fully agreed with the indictment, the text of which took only three-quarters of a type-written page, and were prepared to proceed in Ryutin's case according to the Emergency Enactment of December 1, 1934, that is, without the prosecutor and defence counsel and without witnesses.

The "court hearing" was held on the following day, January 10. It began at 11.35 and ended at 12.15: fairly long for those times, as much as 40 minutes. It was recorded in a very short protocol saying that "the defendant declined to answer the question whether he pleaded guilty and refused in general to testify on the substance of the charges preferred against him... The defendant was granted a last word, but he kept silent." The sentence was obvious. A few minutes later Martemyan Ryutin's life was cut short, as testified by a death certificate appended to the case.

From a Letter of Ryutin's Granddaughter, Julia Zhukovskaya

"Right after my grandfather, his sons Vasili (engineer at Andrei Tupolev's design office) and Vissarion, also an aircraft engineer, lost their lives; the wife of one of the sons went mad, and my grandmother was arrested. Back in 1932, after the grandfather's first arrest, my mother (she was twenty at the time) went to Vyshinsky. They knew each other, he would come to us and enjoyed my mother's special dish, pelmeni. He had called her by a pet name Lyubochka. But this time, he dismissed her curtly, with words, 'There's nothing I can do about it.' He did not even look up. We were thrown out of the house with only the clothes on our backs... I often spend sleepless

nights, and see the grandmother in my mind's eye. She used to write us letters in block capitals from Siberian camps, but my mother did not answer, she feared for us. How awful! But what could she do then?"

In 1956 Lyubov Ryutina appealed to the Procurator's Office with a request to exculpate her father. She said she'd seen him last in 1932, after his first conviction. He had told her: "I am clear before the people and the Party. I shall always be a Communist. History shall prove my righteousness."

The time, however, for an all-out, impartial inquiry into the truth had not arrived. Even the formal-legal thought, not to speak of the political mentality stifled by the burden of old stereotypes, was unable to separate an idea from an action, a standpoint from a criminal offense, and the "Leader" from the country. The substitution of the notions, masterminded by Stalin with such deft ingenuity, was much alive in the public mind and in the juridical practice even after the exposure of the personality cult: disagreement with him, Stalin, was tantamount to disagreement with the Soviet social system, and critique of Stalin meant betrayal of one's homeland.

The Procurator's Office dragged the inquiry on for two years, but it lacked the courage to admit the obvious and no grounds were found for Ryutin's political rehabilitation. It would be in vain to reproach anyone for that: Bukharin and Rykov, Zinovyev and Kamenev, Krestinsky and Pyatakov were still referred to as spies, saboteurs, terrorists and agents of all secret services under the sun.

Another thirty years were to pass. How monstrously heavy was the flywheel of history! Yet it started moving at long last! *"History shall prove my righteousness..."*

On June 13, 1988, a plenary session of the USSR Supreme Court cleared the name of the dauntless fighter against Stalinism from all the false accusations framed against him by the venal "myrmidons of the law" of those horrible years.

It is quite obvious that the same fate would have awaited Ryutin even if he had not authored his "Appeal"... The meatgrinder of the purges spared no one. And thus remembrance and sympathy are due to all the victims. But today we know that some met their death not on their knees but standing, that they did not wait for it in passive resignation but preferred to die fighting. They fought and did not seek to save their lives at any price.

Ryutin's name has returned to the people. The name of a man who proved by his staunchness that even in the most desperate times there always remain people loyal to their principles and ideas, people

for whom these ideas and principles do not become some type of small change for survival, let alone for a career. Not everybody was blind in those times and took a mirage for reality. There were minds that refused to be eclipsed and take the goats for the sheep. Minds that did not fall into dotage and raptures by imagining Stalin a living god. Not all betrayed the traditions of a great country and a great culture, the traditions of selfless devotion to a cause, self-denial and wisdom. Not all turned into mute "cogs" and slaves.

Not all!

I am certain that very soon Ryutin's name, the name of a man who displayed the best of human dignity, will be given to streets in Siberia, in Daghestan and in Moscow. The name of a man who, in one of the questionnaires, defined his social standing proudly and precisely as an "intellectual proletarian". This he was, and as such he remains in our memory.

Appendix

Organizations and Government Offices of the USSR

All-Russia Central Executive Committee (VTsIK)—the top law-making, executive and control body of state power in the Russian Federation in 1917-1936.

All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, Sabotage, and Speculation (Cheka)—set up in December 1917. In 1922, reorganized into the State Political Directorate (GPU) within the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. In 1923-1934, the Unified State Political Directorate (OGPU) under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. In 1934, integrated within the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) as the Chief Directorate for State Security.

All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) /AUCP(B)/—the name of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1925-1952. The Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) in 1898-1917, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) /RSDLP/(B)/ in 1917-1918, and then, between 1918 and 1925, the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) /RCP(B)/.

Central Control Commission (TsKK)—a top control body in the Russian and All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1920-1934. Elected by Party Congresses. From 1934, Commission of Party Control under the Party Central Committee.

Central Executive Committee (TsIK) of the USSR—the top legislative body of Soviet government in 1922-1936 between the All-Union Congresses of Soviets.

Comintern (Communist International)—in 1919-1943, an international revolutionary organization of the proletariat uniting Communist Parties in various countries. Moscow was the site of Comintern steering bodies.

Commission of Party Control (KPK) under the Central Committee of the AUCP(B)—set up in 1934 to replace the Central Control Commission (TsKK) of the Party; supervised the execution of Party

decisions. In 1952, it was reorganized into the Committee for Party Control under the CPSU Central Committee.

Council of People's Commissars (SNK, Sovnarkom)—in 1917-1946, the name of the top executive government bodies in Soviet Russia and other Soviet republics (and in the USSR, after its formation in December 1922). In March, 1946, these bodies were reorganized into the Councils of Ministers.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee (IML)—a central research body of the Communist Party established in 1931. Collects, stores and publishes documents and materials related to Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin and their followers.

Krestintern (Peasant International)—an international organization of revolutionary peasants in 1923-1933. Its aim was to defend the interests of working peasantry and to achieve its revolutionary involvement under the slogan, "Peasants and Working Men of All Countries, Unite!"

Labour and Defence Council (STO)—in 1920-1937, a major policy-making body in charge of economic construction and defence. Abolished in 1937, with its functions delegated to the Economic Committee under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.

People's Commissariat (Narkomat)—in 1917-1946, a central body of government in a particular sphere of administration or national economy. Reorganized into ministries in 1946.

Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic (Revvoyensovet), from 1923—the Revvoyensovet of the USSR, a collective decision-making body of the top military command in 1918-1934. It was in charge of the Soviet Armed Forces. The RMC was headed by the People's Commissar for the Army and the Navy.

State Planning Committee of the USSR (Gosplan)—a body in charge of future and current planning of the USSR national economy; also, exercises control over plan fulfillment. Established in 1921.

Supreme Council of National Economy (VSNKh)—the central body of the national economy management, chiefly of the industry, from 1917 to 1932.

Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (Rabkrin, RKI)—a People's Commissariat, a body of state control in 1920-1934. From 1923, it operated jointly with the Communist Party's Central Control Commission as a single body representing government and Party administration. Its main objectives were: to exercise control over all spheres of the economy and state administration; combat bureaucracy and red tape; supervise the observance of Soviet laws and timely examination of working people's complaints and applications sent to government offices.

Short Biographical Notes

BEZYMENSKI Alexander (1898-1973) was a Russian Soviet poet, active in the Young Communists' movement. Joined the Communist Party in 1916.

BERIA Lavrenti (1899-1953). In 1931 elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, and in 1932, First Secretary of the Transcaucasian Territory Party Committee. From 1938 to 1945, People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR. In 1941-1953—Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (Ministers from 1946). In March-June 1953, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Internal Affairs of the USSR. An organizer and active participant in the mass reprisals during the years of the Stalin personality cult. Arrested in June 1953, tried and executed for high treason in December 1953.

BUKHARIN Nikolai (1888-1938) was a Communist Party member from 1906 to 1937. In December 1917 he became editor of the newspaper *Pravda* and, later, of the *Izvestia* daily. Central Committee member in 1917-1934 (alternate member in 1934-1937). Alternate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee in 1919-1924, and full member, in 1924-1929. Member of the Comintern Executive Committee. Victimized. Rehabilitated post-humously in 1988.

CHUBAR Vlas (1891-1939), joined the Communist Party in 1907. In 1918-1923, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy and simultaneously, as of 1920, member of the Revolutionary Committee of the Ukraine, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy of the Ukraine; from 1923, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1935, appointed Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and Deputy Chairman of the Labour and Defence Council. In 1937, the People's Commissar of Finance of the USSR. A member of the Party Central Committee from 1921; a Politburo member from 1935

(an alternate member from 1926). Victimized. Rehabilitated posthumously following the 20th CPSU Congress.

DZERZHINSKY Felix (1877-1926), joined the Communist Party in 1895; in December 1917, appointed head of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, Sabotage, and Speculation (Cheka, from 1923—OGPU); simultaneously, in 1919-1923, People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, also, People's Commissar for Railways (1921) and Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy of the USSR (1924). A member of the Communist Party Central Committee from 1917; in 1921, elected a member of the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee (an alternate member in 1920); in 1924, elected an alternate member of the Central Committee Politburo.

FRUNZE Mikhail (1885-1925), joined the Communist Party in 1904. In 1919-1920, held posts of army and front commander. In 1921-1924, commanded the troops of the Ukraine and the Crimea; Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine. In 1924, appointed Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council and Deputy People's Commissar for the Army and the Navy; Chief of Staff of the Red Army. In 1925, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council and People's Commissar for the Army and the Navy. Elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party (1921) and an alternate member of the Politburo (1924).

GORKY Maxim (Alexei Peshkov) (1868-1936), Russian Soviet writer and public figure, a classic of Soviet literature.

KAGANOVICH Lazar (b. 1893), joined the Communist Party in 1911. From 1924 to 1935, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, First Secretary of the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party, Chairman of the Commission of Party Control under the Central Committee. In 1936-1944, People's Commissar for Railways; headed a number of People's Commissariats. From 1938, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars; in 1953-1957, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. In 1926, elected an alternate member of the Politburo. In 1930-1957, a member of the Politburo (in 1952-57, Presidium) of the Central Committee.

KAMENEV (Rosenfeld) Lev (1883-1936), a member of the

Communist Party in 1901-1927, 1928-1932, 1933-1934, a member of the Central Committee from 1917 to 1927, and a Politburo member from 1919 to 1926. In 1917-1926, Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. In 1924-25, Chairman of the Labour and Defence Council, then Director of the Lenin Institute. In 1927, ambassador to Italy. In 1934, Director of the Maxim Gorky Institute of World Literature. Victimized. Rehabilitated posthumously in 1988.

KHRUSHCHEV Nikita (1894-1971) was a member of the Communist Party from 1918. In 1935-38, First Secretary of the Moscow Regional and Moscow City Committees of the Communist Party. In 1938, elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. Simultaneously, in 1944-1947, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (Ministers) of the Ukrainian SSR. From 1949 to 1953, Secretary of the Central Committee and First Secretary of the Moscow Committee of the AUCP(B) (from October 1952, CPSU). First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1953-1964, and simultaneously, as of 1958, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. A member of the Party Central Committee in 1934-1964, and a Politburo (Presidium) member from 1939 to 1964 (an alternate member of the Politburo in 1938).

KIROV (Kostrikov) Sergei (1886-1934), joined the Communist Party in 1904. From 1921, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan; in 1926-1934, First Secretary of the Leningrad Party Regional Committee and of the North-Western Bureau of the AUCP(B) Central Committee. In 1934 was also elected Secretary of the Central Committee of the AUCP(B). A member of the Central Committee as of 1923; in 1930, elected to the Politburo (an alternate member in 1926-1930). Assassinated by a terrorist in 1934.

KRESTINSKY Nikolai (1883-1938), a member of the Communist Party since 1903. In 1917, Chief Commissar of the People's Bank; in 1918-1922, People's Commissar for Finance and simultaneously, in 1919-1921, Secretary of the Party Central Committee. In 1919-1921, a Politburo member of the Central Committee. In 1921-1930, Soviet ambassador to Germany. From 1930 to 1937, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Victimized. Rehabilitated posthumously in 1988.

KRUPSKAYA Nadezhda (1869-1939), joined the Communist Party in 1898. Vladimir Lenin's wife. From 1917, a member of the Collegium, and from 1929, Deputy People's Commissar for Education of the Russian Federation. In 1920 headed the Committee for Political Education at the People's Commissariat for Education (in 1930, reorganized into the Sector of Mass Political Education). Elected to the Central Committee in 1927.

MILYUTIN Vladimir (1884-1937), a member of the Communist Party since 1910. In 1917, People's Commissar for Agriculture, and then, from 1918 to 1921, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy. From 1928, in charge of the Central Statistical Board, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Committee. A member of the Party Central Committee in 1917-1918 (an alternate member in 1920-1922); a member of the Central Control Commission in 1924-1934. Victimized. Rehabilitated posthumously following the 20th CPSU Congress.

MOLOTOV (Skryabin) Vyacheslav (1890-1986), joined the Communist Party in 1906. A member of the Party Central Committee from 1921 to 1957 (an alternate member in 1920), he was also a member of the Central Committee Politburo (Presidium) from 1926 to 1957 (an alternate member from 1921). He became Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP(B) in 1920. Chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars in 1930-1941. In 1941-1957, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (Council of Ministers) of the USSR while holding the posts of People's Commissar and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR in 1939-1949 and in 1953-1956.

NOGIN Victor (1878-1924), a member of the Communist Party since 1898. In 1917, People's Commissar for Commerce and Industry; Deputy People's Commissar for Labour (1918-1920). From 1921, Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the RCP(B).

ORDZHONIKIDZE Sergo (Grigori) (1886-1937), joined the Communist Party in 1903. One of the Red Army's political leaders in 1918-1920. In 1926-1930, Chairman of the Central Control Commission of the AUCP(B) and People's Commissar of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Labour and Defence Council of the USSR. In 1930, appointed Chairman of the Supreme Council of

National Economy, and in 1932—People's Commissar of Heavy Industry. In 1921-1926 and from 1930 he was a member of the Party Central Committee. From 1930 he was a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee (an alternate member from 1926). Committed suicide in February 1937.

PASTERNAK Boris (1890-1960), a Soviet poet and prose-writer, translator. The publication of his novel *Doctor Zhivago* abroad led to his expulsion from the USSR Writers' Union in 1958. This decision was cancelled in 1988 and Pasternak was posthumously reinstated in the Writers' Union. The same year the novel was published in the Soviet Union.

POSKREBYSHEV Alexander (1891-1965), a member of the Communist Party since 1917. From March 1922, worked in the apparatus of the Party Central Committee. In 1924-1928, Assistant Secretary of the Central Committee, in 1928-1929, Deputy Chief and Chief of the Administrative Department of the Central Committee. Stalin's aide from 1929 to 1953. From April 1953, on the staff of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

PYATAKOV Georgi (1890-1937), joined the Communist Party in 1910. After the October Revolution of 1917 was a member of the Soviet government in the Ukraine. From 1920, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Committee and of the Supreme Council of National Economy; Soviet trade representative in France, President of the Board of the USSR State Bank, Deputy People's Commissar of Heavy Industry. A member of the Party Central Committee in 1923-1927, and in 1930-1933. Victimized in 1937. Rehabilitated posthumously in 1988.

PYATNITSKY (Tarshis) Osip (Joseph) (1882-1938), a member of the Communist Party since 1898. In 1920, Secretary of the Moscow Committee of the RCP(B). From 1921, worked in the Executive Committee of the Communist International. From 1923, Secretary, and from 1928, a member of the Comintern Executive Committee. From 1924 to 1927, a member of the Central Control Commission of the Party. From 1935, in the apparatus of the Party Central Committee. Elected a member of the Central Committee in 1927. Victimized. Rehabilitated following the 20th CPSU Congress.

RYKOV Alexei (1881-1938), a member of the Communist Party from 1899 to 1937. After the October Revolution, People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, Chairman of the Supreme Council

of National Economy. From 1924, Chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars (till 1930) and of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federation (till 1929). People's Commissar for Communications in 1931-1936. A member of the Party's Central Committee in 1905-1907, 1917-1934 (an alternate member in 1907-1912, 1934-1937); a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee in 1923-1930. Victimized in 1938. Rehabilitated posthumously in 1988.

RYUTIN Martemyan (1890-1937), joined the Communist Party in 1914. From 1920, a Party worker in Siberia and in the North Caucasus, and in 1923-28, in Moscow. In 1929, editor of the Army newspaper *Red Star;* in 1930, a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council of National Economy, Chairman of the Board of the Association for the Photo-and-Cine-Industry. Expelled from the Party in 1930. Victimized. Rehabilitated posthumously in 1988.

SOKOLNIKOV (Brilliant) Grigori (1888-1939), joined the Communist Party in 1905. In 1917 supervised the nationalization of banks; in 1918-1920, a political leader in the Red Army. In 1921-26, Deputy People's Commissar and People's Commissar for Finance; from 1926, Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, President of the Petroleum Syndicate. In 1929, appointed ambassador to Britain. In 1933, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. From 1935, Deputy People's Commissar for the Timber Industry. Elected to the Party Central Committee in 1917-1919, and in 1922-1930. Victimized. Rehabilitated posthumously in 1988.

STALIN (Dzhugashvili) Joseph (1879-1953), a member of the Communist Party since 1898. In 1917-1922, People's Commissar for Nationalities Affairs, simultaneously held the posts of People's Commissar for State Control (1919) and People's Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (1920). Elected to the Central Committee in 1917; from 1919 to 1953, a member of the Politburo (Presidium) of the Central Committee. From 1922, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. In 1941, also appointed Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, in 1946-1953). During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, Chairman of the State Defence Committee and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the USSR.

TEODOROVICH Ivan (1875-1937), joined the Communist Party in 1895. In 1917, People's Commissar for Food Procurement; from 1922, Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture. In 1928-1930, Secretary General of the Peasant International. Victimized. Rehabilitated posthumously after the 20th CPSU Congress.

TOMSKY Mikhail (1880-1936), a member of the Communist Party since 1904. Elected to the Party Central Committee in 1919, and to the Politburo, in 1922. After the October Revolution, in 1917-1936, Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions, a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and President of the Association of State Publishing Houses. Committed suicide in 1936.

TROTSKY (Bronstein) Leon (1879-1940) was a member of the Communist Party from 1917 to 1927. In 1917-1918, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, then, from 1918 to January 1925, People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs and Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. A member of the Party Central Committee in 1917-1927, he was also a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee in 1919-1926. Starting in 1923 he led the opposition against the Party's general line. In 1929, expelled from the Soviet Union for anti-Soviet activities.

TUPOLEV Andrei (1888-1972), an outstanding Soviet aircraft designer, a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, three-time Hero of Socialist Labour. Under his direction over 100 models of military and civil aircraft were designed and built.

ULRICH Vasili (1889-1950), joined the Communist Party in 1910. In 1926-1948, Chairman of the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court; and, as of 1935, Vice-Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court. Presided over political trials during the years of the Stalin personality cult and signed sentences passed at those trials.

VYSHINSKY Andrei (1883-1954), was Deputy Procurator and then Procurator of the USSR in 1933-1939. He took part in the political trials of the 1930s as a State Prosecutor. From 1940 to 1954, held leading posts in the USSR Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

YAGODA Heinrich (1891-1938), a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade in 1919-1922. From 1920, occupied leading posts in the Extraordinary Commission, GPU-OGPU, and NKVD. In 1934-1936, People's Commissar for

Internal Affairs (NKVD). A member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party since 1934 (an alternate member, from 1930). One of the active organizers of mass reprisals during the years of the Stalin personality cult. Executed in 1938.

YAROSLAVSKY Yemelyan (Gubelman Minei) (1878-1943), joined the Communist Party in 1898. After the October Revolution of 1917, Commissar of the Moscow Military District. In 1921 he became Secretary of the Central Committee; in 1923-1934, a member of the Presidium of the Party Central Control Commission. A member of the Party Central Committee in 1921-22 and again from 1939 (an alternate member, in 1919-1921).

YEZHOV Nikolai (1895-1940), in 1930-1934 headed various departments at the Party Central Committee. In 1935, elected Secretary of the Central Committee. In 1936-1938, People's Commissar for Internal Affairs and in 1938-1939, People's Commissar for Water Transport. One of the active organizers of mass reprisals under the Stalin personality cult. Arrested in 1939, executed in 1940.

ZINOVYEV (Apfelbaum) Grigori (1883-1936), was a member of the Communist Party in 1901-1927, 1928-1932, and 1933-1934. He was also a member of the Party Central Committee in 1907-1927, and a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee in 1921-1926 (an alternate member in 1919-1921). From 1919 to 1926 he was President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Chairman of the Petrograd City Soviet (elected in December 1917). Victimized. Rehabilitated posthumously in 1988.

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Серия «Публицистика перестройки»
на английском языке
Цена 30 к.

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Names That HAVE RETURNED

THE NAMES OF MANY PROMINENT STATE FIGURES, MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY AND WORKERS IN THE SCIENCES AND CULTURE WHO FELL VICTIM TO THE STALIN PERSONALITY CULT HAVE BEEN ERASED FROM THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY FOR MANY YEARS. THE CURRENT REHABILITATION PROCESS AND THE PUBLICATION OF NUMEROUS MATERIALS CONTRIBUTED BY SCIENTISTS, WRITERS AND JOURNALISTS ARE NOW GIVING DUE RECOGNITION TO THEIR SERVICES, AND REVERING THEIR MEMORY. ALL THIS ATTESTS TO SOCIETY'S STRIVING FOR MORE OPENNESS, AND FOR REMOVING THE "BLANK SPOTS" FROM THE SOVIET UNION'S HISTORY.

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